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FRANCIS BACON

OUR SHAKE-SPEARE

BY

EDWIN REED, A.M.

AUTHOR OF "BACON *VS.* SHAKSPERE, BRIEF FOR PLAINTIFF"
AND "BACON AND SHAKE-SPEARE PARALLELISMS"

FABIAN. — I will prove it legitimate, sir, upon the oaths of judgment and reason.

SIR TOBY. — And they have been grand-jurymen, since before Noah was a sailor.

Twelfth Night, iii. 2.

LONDON
GAY AND BIRD
1902

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TO

JONATHAN DENNY, ESQ.

AN HONORED KINSMAN AND FRIEND, OF HOLLY COTTAGE,
WANDSWORTH, SURREY, ENGLAND,

AND IN MEMORY OF OUR COMMON ANCESTORS,

THOMAS AND GRACE DENNY,

OF SUFFOLK,

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY AND REVERENTLY
DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR.

1042016

In this volume, as well as in our "Bacon *vs.* Shakspere," wherever personal reference is made to William Shakspere of Stratford, the reputed dramatist, the name is so spelled, *William Shakspere;* but where the reference is to the author of the Plays, as such, we treat the name as a pseudonym, spelling it as it was printed on the title-pages of many of the early quartos, William Shake-speare. In all cases of citation, except in those where confusion would arise, we follow the originals.

INTRODUCTION

THE value of the discussion, to which this volume and our preceding one are devoted, is, we regret to say, not yet clearly understood. It consists in the comparison and mutual elucidation of the works of (as commonly alleged) two of the greatest thinkers of all time. The Shake-speare poems and plays are comprised in about one thousand printed pages; the philosophical, literary, and professional writings of Francis Bacon, the same number; to analyze and compare them, almost page by page, to show their relations to the era in which they were written, and to the environment and personal aims of their respective authors, is an undertaking the educational influence of which, when prosecuted in the true historical spirit, cannot easily be overestimated. Were it not an undoubted fact that determination of authorship is a condition precedent to the comprehension of the Shakespearean dramas, we might sympathize with the great critic Lessing, who declared in substance that if he could hold truth in one hand and in the other the pursuit of truth, and retain but one, he would be tempted to let truth go and retain the pursuit.

A father, dying, called his sons to his bedside and told them he had buried a treasure in his vineyard for them. In due time they found it; not in gold or silver, but in the bountiful crops that reward the spade and pick.

EDWIN REED.

ANDOVER, MASS., November, 1901.

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FRANCIS BACON OUR SHAKE-SPEARE

Chapter One

COINCIDENCES

1

THE tragedy of 'Hamlet' was written in or about 1586,[1] but not printed until 1603. In this first draft of the play we find a letter, written by the prince to Ophelia, in which she is told she may doubt any proposition whatever, no matter how certain it may be, but under no circumstances must she doubt the writer's love. From this letter, which is partly in verse, we quote:

> "Doubt that in earth is fire,
> Doubt that the stars do move,
> Doubt truth to be a liar,
> But do not doubt I love." — ii. 2.

Among the certainties here specified, which Ophelia was at liberty to question before she could question the writer's love, is the doctrine of a central fire in the earth. "Doubt that in earth is fire." The belief in the existence of a mass of molten matter at the centre of the earth was then, as it is now, universal; but for some reason the author of the play changed his mind in regard to it within one year after the play was published. The second edition of 'Hamlet' came from the press in 1604, and then the first line of the stanza, quoted above, was made to read as follows:

> "Doubt that the stars are fire."

[1] See *infra*, pp. 67–70.

The doctrine of a central fire in the earth was thus taken out of the play some time between the appearance of the first edition in 1603 and that of the second in 1604. How can this be accounted for? Was there another person known to fame in all the civilized world at that time, besides the author of 'Hamlet,' who entertained a doubt as to the condition of the earth's interior? Yes, there was one, and perhaps one only. Francis Bacon wrote a tract, entitled *Cogitationes de Natura Rerum*, assigned to the latter part of 1603 or the early part of 1604. Mr. Spedding, the last and best editor of Bacon's works, thinks it was written before September, 1604. In this tract, evidently a fresh study of the subject, Bacon boldly took the ground that the earth is a cold body, cold to the core, the only cold body, as he afterwards affirmed, in the entire universe, all others, sun, planets, and stars, being of fire.

It appears, then, that Bacon adopted this new view of the earth's interior at precisely the same time that the author of 'Hamlet' did; that is to say, according to the record, in the brief interval between the appearance of the first and that of the second editions of the drama, and, furthermore, against the otherwise unanimous opinion of physicists throughout the world.[1]

Coincidence number one.

II

The second line of the stanza in this extraordinary love-letter is also significant. In the first edition it runs as follows:

"Doubt that the stars do move." 1603.

[1] "The heaven, from its perfect and entire heat and the extreme extension of matter, is most hot, lucid, rarefied, and moveable; whereas the earth, on the contrary, from its entire and unrefracted cold, and the extreme contraction of matter, is most cold, dark, and dense, completely immoveable. . . . The rigors of cold, which in winter time and in the coldest countries are exhaled into the air from the surface of the earth, are merely tepid airs and baths, compared with the nature of the primal cold shut up in the bowels thereof."

BACON'S *De Principiis atque Originibus.*

In the second edition the change is merely verbal:

"Doubt that the sun doth move." 1604.[1]

The doctrine that the earth is the centre of the universe around which the sun and stars daily revolve is thus retained. It has been retained in every succeeding edition of the play to the present time. How can this, also, be accounted for?

Copernicus published his heliocentric theory of the solar system in 1543, eighteen years before Bacon was born. Bruno taught it in Geneva in 1580; in Paris, in 1582; in London and Oxford, in 1583; in Germany, in 1584; in Switzerland, in 1588; in Venice, in 1590; and he was burned at the stake as a martyr to it in Rome in 1600; Kepler announced two of his great laws, governing planetary motions, in 1609; Galileo established the truth of the Copernican system beyond the shadow of a doubt by his discoveries of the phases of Venus and the satellites of Jupiter in 1610; Harriot saw the sun spots and proved the rotation of that luminary on its axis in 1611; Kepler proclaimed his third law in 1619; and yet, notwithstanding all these repeated and wonderful demonstrations and in opposition to the general current of contemporary thought,[2] Bacon persistently and with ever increasing vehemence adhered to the old theory to the day of his death. The author of the Plays did the same. The two were agreed in holding to the cycles and epicycles of Ptolemy after all the rest of the scientific world had rejected them; and they were also agreed in rejecting the Copernican theory after all the rest of the scientific world had accepted it.[3]

Coincidence number two.

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[1] The change was made necessary in reforming the stanza by the promotion of the word *stars* to the first line.

[2] We take no notice of the opinions of theologians, or of astronomers writing under the influence of the Church.

[3] In 1622, Bacon admitted that the Copernican theory had become prevalent (*quæ nunc quoque invaluit*), but he thought that a compromise might

III

In the second edition of 'Hamlet,' 1604, we find the tides of the ocean attributed, in accordance with popular opinion, to the influence of the moon.

> "The moist star,
> Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands,
> Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse." — i. 1.

This was repeated in the third quarto, 1605; in the fourth, 1611; in the fifth or undated quarto; but in the first folio (1623), the lines were omitted. Why?

During the Christmas revels at Gray's Inn in 1594, Bacon contributed to the entertainment, among other things, a poem in blank verse, known as the Gray's Inn Masque. It is full of those references to natural philosophy in which the author took so much delight, and especially on this occasion when Queen Elizabeth was the subject, to the various forms of attraction exerted by one body upon another in the world. Of the influence of the moon, he says:

> "Your rock claims kindred of the polar star,
> Because it draws the needle to the north;
> Yet even that star gives place to Cynthia's rays,
> Whose drawing virtues govern and direct
> The flots and re-flots of the Ocean."[1]

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be effected between the two opposing systems, evidently unable, on account of the mathematical principles involved, to comprehend either of them. At one time he seems to have deprecated both.

A slight circumstance throws some light upon the state of his mind on this subject. In the first edition of the 'Advancement of Learning' (1605), he said that "the mathematicians cannot satisfy themselves, except they reduce the motions of the celestial bodies to perfect circles, rejecting spiral lines, and laboring to be discharged of eccentrics." In the second edition (1623) he omitted the reference to eccentrics.

"Shakespeare does not appear to have got beyond the Ptolemaic system of the universe." — ELZE'S *William Shakespeare*, page 390.

[1] The Masque is not in Bacon's name, but no one can read it and doubt its authorship. Bacon was the leading promoter of these revels.

At this time, then, Bacon held to the common opinion that the moon controls the tides; but later in life, in or about 1616, he made an elaborate investigation into these phenomena, and in a treatise entitled *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris*, definitely rejected the lunar theory.

"We dare not proceed so far as to assert that the motions of the sun or moon are the causes of the motions below, which correspond thereto; or that the sun and moon have a dominion or influence over these motions of the sea, though such kind of thoughts find an easy entrance into the minds of men by reason of the veneration they pay to the celestial bodies."—BACON'S *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris.*

"Whether the moon be in her increase or wane; whether she be above or under the earth; whether she be elevated higher or lower above the horizon; whether she be in the meridian or elsewhere; the ebb and flow of the sea have no correspondence with any of these phenomena."—*Ibid.*

In every edition of 'Hamlet' published previously to 1616, the theory is stated and approved; in every edition published after 1616, it is omitted.[1]

Coincidence number three.

IV

In 'Hamlet,' again, we have a singular doctrine in the sphere of moral philosophy, advanced by the author in his early years but subsequently withdrawn.

[1] The tides are attributed to the influence of the moon in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' and the 'Winter's Tale;' but both of these plays were written long before the date of Bacon's change of opinion on the subject. The former we know was not revised by the author for publication in the folio; and we have no reason to believe that the latter, then printed for the first time, underwent any revision after 1616.

The same theory is stated, also, in 'King Lear' and the First Part of 'Henry IV.;' but the tragedy was in existence in 1606, and the historical play considerably earlier. The 'Tempest' was written in 1613.

It should be added, however, that the spring or monthly tides were ascribed by Bacon to the influence of the moon.

The passage from 'Hamlet' has been restored to the text by modern editors.

The prince, expostulating with his mother in the celebrated chamber-scene where Polonius was hidden behind the arras, says to her, —

> "Sense, sure, you have,
> Else could you not have motion." — iii. 4 (1604).

The commentators can make nothing of these words. One of them suggests that for "motion" we substitute *notion;* another, *emotion.* Others still contend that the misprint is in the first part of the sentence; that "sense" must be understood to mean *sensation* or *sensibility.* Dr. Ingleby is certain that Hamlet refers to the Queen's wanton impulse. The difficulty is complicated, too, by the fact that the lines were omitted from the revised version of the play in the folio of 1623, concerning which, however, the most daring commentator has not ventured to offer a remark. But in Bacon's prose works we find not only an explanation of the passage in the quarto, but also the reason why it was excluded from the folio.

The 'Advancement of Learning' was published in 1605, one year after the quarto of 'Hamlet' containing the sentence in question appeared; but no repudiation of the old doctrine, that everything that has motion must have sense, is found in it. Indeed, Bacon seems to have had at that time a lingering opinion that the doctrine is true, even as applied to the planets, in the influence which these wanderers were then supposed to exert over the affairs of men. But in 1623 he published a new edition of the 'Advancement' in Latin, under the title of *De Augmentis Scientiarum,* and therein expressly declared that the doctrine is untrue; that there can be motion in inanimate bodies without sense, but with what he called a kind of perception. He said:

"Ignorance on this point drove some of the ancient philosophers to suppose that a soul is infused into all bodies without distinction; for they could not conceive how there can be motion without sense, or sense without a soul."

The Shake-speare folio with its revised version of 'Hamlet' came out in the same year (1623); and the passage in question, having run through all previous editions of the play,—*i. e.*, in 1604, in 1605, in 1611, and in the undated quarto,—but now no longer harmonizing with the author's views, dropped out.

Coincidence number four.

V

'King Lear' was published in quarto in 1608, two editions having been issued in that year. It contains the following speeches on the disorders of the time:

"*Gloucester.* These late eclipses in the sun and moon portend no good to us; though the wisdom of nature can reason it thus and thus, yet nature finds itself scourged by the sequent effects. Love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide; in cities, mutinies; in countries, discord; in palaces, treason; and the bond crack'd 'twixt son and father. This villain of mine comes under the prediction; there 's son against father. The king falls from bias of nature; there 's father against child. We have seen the best of our time; machinations, hollowness, treachery, and all ruinous disorders follow us disquietly to our graves." . . . [*Exit.*

"*Edmund.* . . . O! these eclipses do portend these divisions."—i. 2.

The next appearance of the play, in print, was in the folio of 1623, where the closing part of Edmund's soliloquy, suggested by what Gloucester had said before leaving the stage, is given as follows:

"O! these eclipses do portend these divisions. Fa, sol, la, mi."

Here is a musical phrase added to the text fifteen years after the play was first printed; probably seventeen or eighteen years after the play was written. It consists of syllables for solmization (including a tritonus or sharp fourth), which in Shake-speare's time and until a comparatively recent date implied a series of sounds exceedingly disagreeable to the ear. It was called the "devil in music." As an illustration of the state of moral, political, and physi-

cal discord described by Gloucester, nothing could have been more felicitous; but how shall we explain its late introduction into the play?

Evidently the figure was suggested to the author for use in this connection sometime between 1608 and 1623, and then only after the careful study of a science the technique of which is exceptionally difficult and abstruse. William Shakspere, the reputed dramatist, was then living in Stratford,[1] in an environment wholly unfitted for such a study. He died in 1616. Francis Bacon, on the other hand, began the composition of his *Sylva Sylvarum* in October, 1622, and in that work investigated not only the general laws of harmony, but also this particular tritonus or sharp fourth, given one year later in the revised version of the play.[2] Coincidence number five.

VI

Bacon spent the years of his childhood partly in London, and partly at his father's country seat at Gorhambury, near St. Albans; in 1573 he was matriculated at Cambridge University; from 1576 to 1579 he was in France; on his return to London he took up his residence as a law student at Gray's Inn; in 1584 he entered Parliament.

The first in order of composition of the historical dramas

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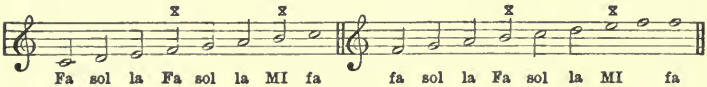
[1] See Bacon *vs.* Shakspere, 8th ed., Chapter II.

[2] "Edmund alludes to the unnatural division of parent and child, etc., in this musical phrase which contains the augmented fourth, or *mi contra fa*, of which the old theorists used to say, *diabolus est.*" — NAYLOR'S *Shakespeare and Music*, p. 36.

Example of Sol-Fa (16th and 17th centuries).



"The augmented fourths, formed by the notes fa and mi, marked with x, are the *mi contra fa* which *diabolus est.*" — *Ibid.*, p. 186.

of Shake-speare was 'King Henry VI.' It bears unmistakable marks of the immaturity of a great genius. It bears, also, marks of the author's personal acquaintance with those localities where, previously to the date of the play, Bacon had lived. Of the seventy-eight scenes into which its three parts are divided, thirty are laid in London, where Bacon was born; three in St. Albans, where he was brought up; twenty in France, and in those provinces of France which he had visited; one is laid in the Temple, an institution for lawyers closely associated with Gray's Inn; and one in the Houses of Parliament.[1]

"A young author's first work almost always bespeaks his recent pursuits." — SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

Coincidence number six.

VII

In the first draft of 'Hamlet,' published, as we have said, in 1603, but produced on the stage in 1586, the prince, referring to the clown in the grave-digger's scene, says to Horatio, —

"An excellent fellow, by the Lord, Horatio;
These *seven* years have I noticed it; the toe of the peasant
Comes so near the heel of the courtier
That he galls his kibe." — v. 1.

In the second quarto (1604) this speech appears as follows:

"By the Lord, Horatio; this *three* years have I taken note of it; the age is grown so picked that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe."

The period of seven years in the first edition gives place to that of three years in the second.

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[1] "Shakes-peare's personal acquaintance with Cambridge University is shown by a line in 'Titus Andronicus,' where he uses, and calls special attention to a colloquial expression peculiar to the students there, thus:
"Knock at his study, where, they say, he *keeps*." — v. 2.
See also on this point Bacon *vs.* Shakspere, 8th ed., Chapter V.

Bacon returned from the continent, where he had been living from boyhood, in 1579; consequently, in 1586, he had been an observer of manners and customs in and around the court of Elizabeth, to which he had had easy access, for a period of seven years.

In 1603, we find Bacon full of alarm over the progress of democratic sentiment in the country. He then wrote to his cousin, Secretary Cecil, that he thought of abandoning politics and putting himself wholly "upon his pen;" he even predicted the revolution that followed forty years later. This fear had its chief origin in the last parliament of Queen Elizabeth, when he saw the House of Commons converted into a pandemonium over public grievances.

The play of 'Hamlet' was re-written and re-published in 1604; the last parliament under Elizabeth sat three years earlier, in 1601. Hence the substitution of this last-named period for the first.

Coincidence number seven.

VIII

In the famous interview between Hamlet and his mother in the chamber-scene, already referred to, the prince sees the ghost of the murdered king and addresses it. The Queen, unable to hear or see anything to account for her son's conduct, finally exclaims, —

> "This is the very coinage of your brain;
> This bodiless creation ecstacy
> Is very cunning in." — iii. 4.

Hamlet replies:

> "It is not madness
> That I have utter'd; bring me to the test,
> And I the matter will re-word; which madness
> Would gambol from."

Dr. Wigan, a specialist, points out the scientific pertinence of this reply. Hamlet asks to be put to a test, and suggests

one known only to experts, viz.: to repeat, word for word, what he had previously uttered. Inability to recall a train of thought is said to be a special mark of insanity, even in the mildest form of the disease.

Other passages in the plays show the writer's exceptional knowledge in this branch of therapeutics. When King Lear, for instance, falls into a deep sleep in the fourth act and gives signs of immediate restoration to health, the physician in charge orders music, thus:

"(*Enter Lear in a chair carried by servants.*)

Doctor. Ay, madam; in the heaviness of sleep
We put fresh garments on him.
Kent. Be by, good madam, when we do awake him;
I doubt not of his temperance.
Cordelia. Very well. [*Music.*
Doct. Please you, draw near. Louder the music there."—iv. 7.

In the 'Tempest,' also, Prospero refers to the effects of music on the insane, as follows:

[*Solemn music.*

"A solemn air, and the best comforter
To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains."—v. i.

No less clear are Richard II.'s words on the subject in his last monologue:

"This music mads me; let it sound no more;
For though it have holp madmen to their wits,
In me it seems it will make wise men sad."—v. 4.

Bacon wrote to Queen Elizabeth in the spring of 1600 that his mother was "much worn;" soon afterward, perhaps at the death of her son Anthony in 1601, she became violently insane, and continued so under the sole, unremitting care of her only surviving son Francis until her death in 1610. It was during this period that 'King Lear' and the revised version of 'Hamlet' were written. The author's portrayal

of insanity in these plays is still regarded by specialists as a psychological marvel.[1]

"Shakespeare must have had an opportunity of observing [a person or] persons afflicted in mind. Prof. Neumann very justly remarks concerning Ophelia's case: 'Whence could Shakespeare have known that persons thus afflicted decorate themselves with flowers, offer them to other people, and sing away to themselves; I myself cannot conceive where.' Dr. Bucknill even maintains that *watching persons mentally afflicted must have been a favourite study of Shakespeare's.*" — PROF. ELZE'S *William Shakespeare*, 405.

Coincidence number eight.

IX

Bacon, as we have seen, was a member of Gray's Inn; he had lodgings there during the greater part of his life. In close alliance with Gray's Inn was the Inner Temple, the two fraternal institutions always uniting in their Christmas revels, and each bearing its associate's coat-of-arms over its own gateway. Of their internal affairs the public knew but little, for guests were seldom admitted behind the scenes.

The Inner Temple was governed in accordance with some very remarkable rules. One of these rules, handed down from the time of the founders, the old Knights Templar, enjoined silence at meals. Members, dining in the hall, were expected to make their wants known "by signs," or, if that were not practicable, in low tones or whispers only.

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[1] The passage from 'Hamlet,' quoted above, appeared for the first time in the quarto of 1604.

The effect of music on the insane was not, of course, wholly unknown in Shake-speare's time, for it is mentioned in the biblical account of King Saul, who was relieved by David's harp-playing; but in general practice, even down to the present century, the harshest methods of treatment prevailed, insanity being regarded, not as a disease, but a crime. This subject takes us to the most pitiful chapter that has ever been written in the history of the human race.

Another rule provided that members should seat themselves in the dining-hall in messes of four, the tables being of the exact length required to accommodate three messes each. This arrangement prevails to the present day.

Shake-speare was familiar with these petty details. He laid one of the scenes of 'King Henry VI.' in the Temple garden itself, where we have, properly enough, a legal discussion on the rights of certain claimants to the throne. In the course of this discussion the following colloquy takes place:

"*Plantagenet.* Great lords and gentlemen, what means this silence?
Dare no man answer in a case of truth?
Suffolk. Within the Temple hall we were *too loud;*
The garden here is more convenient.

. . . . . .

Plan. Thanks, gentle sir;
Come, let us *four* to dinner." — ii. 4.

Edward J. Castle, Esq., of London, a member of the Queen's Council and a life-long resident in the Temple, comments on the above passage as follows:

"This reference to the Temple Gardens, not saying whether the Inner or the Middle Temple is meant, curiously enough points to the writer being a member of Gray's Inn; . . . an Inner or a Middle Temple man would have given his Inn its proper title." — *Shakespeare, Bacon, Jonson, and Greene; a Study,* 65, *n.*

Gray's Inn garden had not been laid out when the play of 'King Henry VI.' was written.

Coincidence number nine.

X

At one time Bacon thought himself in serious danger of his life. The popular feeling against him grew out of his connection with the Earl of Essex, although Mr. Spedding has been able to show beyond a doubt that it was wholly

misdirected and unjust. The fact of its existence, however, cannot be questioned. Bacon frequently referred to it in his correspondence during the period 1599–1601.

"My life has been threatened and my name libeled." — *Letter to the Queen.*

"As for any violence to be offered me, wherewith my friends tell me I am offered, I thank God I have the privy coat of a good conscience. I know no remedy against libels and lies."— *Letter to Cecil.*

"For my part, I have deserved better than to have my name objected to envy, or my life to a ruffian's violence."— *Letter to Howard.*

The Shake-speare Sonnets were written in the latter part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries. From some unexplained cause the author of these productions seems also to have been at that time in danger of his life.

"Then hate me if thou wilt; if ever, now,
Now while the world is bent my deeds to cross,
Join with the spite of fortune."— *Sonnet* 90.

"The coward conquest of a wretch's knife." — *Sonnet* 74.

"Your love and pity doth the impression fill,
Which vulgar scandal stamp'd upon my brow;
For what care I who calls me well or ill,
So you o'ergreen my bad, my good allow?
You are my all the world, and I must strive
To know my shames and praises from your tongue;
None else to me, nor I to none alive,
That my steel'd sense or changes right or wrong.
In so profound abysm I throw all care
Of others' voices, that my adder's sense
To critic and to flatterer stopped are,
Mark how with my neglect I do dispense."— *Sonnet* 112.

On this point we quote from Mr. Thomas Tyler's 'Shakespeare's Sonnets,' as follows:

"In the series of Sonnets 100 to 126, there are allusions to some scandal which, at the time when these sonnets were written, was in circulation with regard to Shakespeare. . . . How deeply Shakespeare felt the scandal is shown by the first two lines of 112, where he speaks of his forehead as though branded or stamped thereby:

> "'Your love and pity doth the impression fill,
> Which vulgar scandal stamp'd upon my brow.'

"The great difficulty in the way of supposing that the reference is merely to the stage and acting is presented by the remarkable language of Sonnet 121, from which it appears that the scandal had some relation to Shakespeare's moral character:

> "'T is better to be vile than vile esteem'd,
> When not to be receives reproach of being.'
>
> . . . . . .

"The poem consisting of Sonnets 100 to 126, which speaks of the scandal from which the poet was suffering, we have placed in the spring or early summer of 1601." Page 113.

The Earl of Essex was executed in February, 1601, at which time, or immediately afterward, the scandal against Bacon reached its height.

It appears, then, —

1. That each of these two authors (if there were two) had a "dark period" in his life;
2. That this dark period arose in each from the same cause, a public scandal;
3. That it culminated in each at precisely the same time, "in the spring or summer of 1601;" and
4. That it inspired in both cases fears of assassination.

Coincidence number ten.

XI

The antithesis between nature and art was a conspicuous dogma of the peripatetic school of philosophy. In the contention of Aristotle the distinction between nature and art is

sufficiently expressed when we say that a formative principle is at work inherently in one, while in the other the source of energy is without.[1] Bacon declared that no antithesis whatever exists between the two cases; that the processes are identical, except in one particular, namely: man has power by bringing natural objects together to institute new processes, or by separating natural objects to destroy old processes, the processes themselves, however, being always strictly in accordance with natural law. The difference, according to Bacon, resolves itself into a power of motion. For instance, the sun shining through drops of water falling from a cloud creates a rainbow; so, also, when it shines through the spray of a fountain. Nature does the work in her own way in both cases. Given a shower of rain or mist, whether natural or artificial, in sunlight, and the rainbow comes as a matter of course. Gold is refined by one method, and by one only, whether in the hot sands of the earth or in a furnace prepared by art. In the grafting of a tree, man may insert a scion in the stock, but the new fruit is developed under the same laws that govern the production of the old. This view was then a new one and without doubt original with Bacon; but it was also formulated by Shake-speare, and in the same language, almost word for word, as the following parallelism will show: —

"Nature is made better by no mean [means]
But Nature makes that mean; so, over that art
Which, you say, adds to Nature, is an Art
That Nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
A gentler scion to the wildest stock;

"It is the fashion to talk as if art were something different from nature, or a sort of addition to nature, with power to finish what nature has begun, or correct her when going aside. . . . In truth man has no power over nature except that of motion, — the power, I say, of putting natural bodies together or

[1] ἡ γὰρ τέχνη ἀρχὴ καὶ εἶδος τοῦ γενομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ, ἡ δὲ τῆς φύσεως κίνησις ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀφ' ἑτέρας οὖσα φύσεως τῆς ἐχούσης τὸ εἶδος ἐνεργείᾳ.
Aristotle De Gen.-Anim. — ii. 1.

And make conceive a bark of baser kind
By bud of nobler race. This is an art
Which does mend nature, change it rather; but
The art itself is nature."
Winter's Tale, iv. 3 (1611).

separating them, — *the rest is done by nature within.*" — *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis* (*cir.* 1612).

The doctrine appeared for the first time in Bacon's prose works, as above, in 1612; in the plays, in 1611.

It appears, then, that the two authors made the same recondite study of the relations between nature and art, made it at the same time, and reached the same conclusion.

Coincidence number eleven.

XII

That the author of the Plays had resided in France in early life, and under circumstances that gave him unusual access to some of the political records of the country, seems to be indicated in the Plays themselves. In 'King Henry VI.,' Part 1, we have a most extraordinary scene in which the famous Joan of Arc and the Duke of Burgundy are the principal characters. The Duke is an ally of the English. He is marching at the head of his troops toward Paris, while the French King, also at the head of his troops and accompanied by the Maid, appears on the field in the distance. A herald demands a parley, and then the following dialogue ensues:

"*King.* A parley with the Duke of Burgundy!
Bur. Who craves a parley with the Burgundy?
King. The princely Charles of France, thy countryman.
Bur. What say'st thou, Charles? for I am marching hence.
King. Speak, Pucelle, and enchant him with thy words.
Joan. Brave Burgundy, undoubted hope of France!
Stay, let thy humble handmaid speak to thee.
Bur. Speak on; but be not over-tedious.
Joan. Look on thy country, look on fertile France,
And see the cities and the towns defaced

By wasting ruin of the cruel foe.
As looks the mother on her lowly babe,
When death doth close his tender dying eyes,
See, see the pining malady of France;
Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,
Which thou thyself hast given her woeful breast.
O, turn thy edged sword another way;
Strike those that hurt, and hurt not those that help.
One drop of blood drawn from thy country's bosom
Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign gore.
Return thee, therefore, with a flood of tears,
And wash away thy country's stained spots.

Bur. Either she hath bewitch'd me with her words,
Or nature makes me suddenly relent.

Joan. Besides, all French and France exclaims on thee,
Doubting thy birth and lawful progeny.
Who join'st thou with but with a lordly nation
That will not trust thee but for profit's sake?
When Talbot hath set footing once in France,
And fashion'd thee that instrument of ill,
Who then but English Henry will be lord,
And thou be thrust out like a fugitive?
Call we to mind, and mark but this for proof:
Was not the Duke of Orleans thy foe?
And was he not in England prisoner?
But when they heard he was thine enemy,
They set him free without his ransom paid,
In spite of Burgundy and all his friends.
See, then, thou fight'st against thy countrymen,
And join'st with them will be thy slaughter-men.
Come, come, return; return, thou wandering lord;
Charles and the rest will take thee in their arms.

Bur. I am vanquished; these haughty words of hers
Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-shot,
And made me almost yield upon my knees.
Forgive me, country, and sweet countrymen,
And, lords, accept this hearty, kind embrace.
My forces and my power of men are yours;
So farewell, Talbot; I'll no longer trust thee." — iii. 3.

No such interview as above described ever took place. The duke did, indeed, abandon the cause of the English, but

not until 1435, four years after the death of Joan. But was this scene, therefore, wholly and absolutely an invention of the dramatist? Did the author merely anticipate the duke's defection, and, by connecting Joan of Arc with it, violate, in spirit as well as in letter, the truth of history?

In 1780, according to the well-known historian of the House of Burgundy, M. Brugière de Barante, some one in France for the first time put in print a letter, dated July 17, 1429, addressed to the then reigning duke, and written by Joan of Arc. It contains a passionate appeal to the duke to take precisely the same course which is urged upon him in the play. The letter is as follows:

"IHESUS MARIA

"High and mighty Prince, Duke of Burgundy, Joan la Pucelle prays you, for the sake of God in heaven, my rightful and sovereign Lord, to make a long and durable peace with the King of France. Pardon each the other with a good heart, as good Christians ought to do; if it please you to make war, go against the Saracens.

"Prince of Burgundy, I pray you, I supplicate and entreat you, as humbly as I am able to do, to make no further war upon the kingdom of France; withdraw at once all your forces from the towns and fortresses you are occupying in the kingdom. The noble king of France is ready to make peace with you, on any terms consistent with his honor; you will find no difficulty with him.

"I warn you, however, in the name of God in heaven, my rightful and sovereign Lord, and for the sake of your own well-being and honor, that you can win no battle against the loyal people of France; and that all those who war against the said kingdom of France, war against Jesus, the King, the King of heaven, and of all the world, my rightful and sovereign Lord. I pray you and beseech you with clasped hands not to do battle or fight against us, neither you, nor your family, nor your subjects. Be assured that however large an army you may bring against us, you will gain no victory over me; it will be a pity to fight a great battle and shed the blood of those who come against us.

"It is now three weeks since I wrote to you and sent good letters by a herald, asking you to come to terms with his sacred majesty who, to-day, Sunday, July 17, is in the city of Rheims. I have received no response to those letters, nor indeed any tidings of the herald.

"I commend you to God. May He protect you, if it so please Him; and I pray God to give us peace. Written at Rheims, the said 17th of July [1429]."

It is safe to say that the existence of this letter was unknown in England in the time of Shake-speare. Neither Hall nor Holinshed nor any other English chronicler mentions it. It appears to have been unknown also in France, for it remained in manuscript, buried among the ducal papers at Lîsle, the capital of Burgundy, for a period of three hundred and fifty years after it was written. Fabert, who wrote a history of the House of Burgundy in 1687, knew nothing of it. And yet this identical letter opened the series of negotiations that finally resulted in the treaty of peace in 1435, as represented in the play. The dramatist simply changed its form, preferring a spoken address in the open field as better suited to stage effects. Even for this he had an historic basis, for the duke is known to have marched to Paris over the plain of Rouen in the summer of 1429, and to have agreed to a truce soon after his receipt of the Maid's letter.

Here, then, is substantial proof that the author of 'King Henry VI.' was acquainted with an important fact in French history which English and French historians did not discover until more than two centuries after the date of the play.

The only rational explanation of the mystery seems to us to be this: the author we call Shake-speare was in France when he first formed the plan of portraying dramatically the foreign campaigns of his countrymen in the reign of Henry VI.; and that in pursuance of this design he not only visited

the scenes made memorable by those great campaigns (as we know that Bacon did), but that he also personally gathered some of the materials for his undertaking from the French and Burgundian national archives. Not the slightest evidence exists to show that William Shakspere of Stratford was ever in France.

Coincidence number twelve.

XIII

The 'Second Part of King Henry VI.' was published under another title, in 1594, in 1600, and again (three years after the death of the reputed poet at Stratford) in 1619. In each of these versions, Gloucester is forced to confess that in his administration of affairs as Protector during the minority of the king he had tortured prisoners contrary to law. It was he, in fact, that actually introduced the practice into England. He says in the play, as first printed in the quartos:

> "Why, 't is well known that whilst I was Protector,
> Pity was all the fault that was in me;
> A murderer or foul felonious thief,
> That robs and murders silly passengers,
> I tortur'd above the rate of common law."

In the folio (1623), however, where the play appears in a revised form, this statement, that torture of suspected criminals was contrary to, or "above the rate of" common law, was omitted. The passage was then made to read as follows:

> "Why, 't is well known that whilst I was Protector,
> Pity was all the fault that was in me;
> For I should melt at an offender's tears,
> And lowly words were ransom for their fault;
> Unless it were a bloody murderer,
> Or foul felonious thief that fleec'd poor passengers,
> I never gave them condign punishment.
> Murder, indeed, that bloody sin, I tortur'd
> Above the felon, or what trespass else." — iii. 1.

English lawyers were always opposed to use of the rack as unknown to law. The right was claimed, however, by King James, who ordered Bacon, as Attorney-General, to take part in some proceedings of the kind in the Tower. Bacon complied; but as author of the play, in its revision after 1619, he would not naturally have cared to retain in it a judgment against himself.

Coincidence number thirteen.

XIV

Judge Say was another character in the drama of 'King Henry VI.' He was arrested by Cade and accused of various crimes and misdemeanors for which he was finally beheaded. According to the quarto editions of 1594, 1600, and 1619, he answered his accusers as follows: —

> "Kent, in the Commentaries Cæsar wrote,
> Term'd it the civil'st place of all this land;
> Then, noble countrymen, hear me but speak;
> I sold not France, I lost not Normandy."

In the play as revised after 1619 and published in the Folio of 1623, this speech is thus enlarged:

> "Kent, in the Commentaries Cæsar writ,
> Is term'd the civil'st place in all this isle;
> Sweet is the country, because full of riches;
> The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy;
> Which makes me hope you are not void of pity.
> I sold not Maine, I lost not Normandy;
> Yet to recover them would lose my life.
> Justice with favor have I always done;
> Prayers and tears have mov'd me, gifts could never.
> When have I aught exacted at your hands,
> But to maintain the king, the realm, and you?
> Large gifts have I bestow'd on learned clerks,
> Because my book preferr'd me to the king;
> And seeing ignorance is the curse of God,
> Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven,

Unless you be possess'd with devilish spirits,
You cannot but forbear to murder me;
This tongue hath parley'd unto foreign kings
For your behoof." —*Second Part*, iv. 7.

In this addition to the speech four passages may be noted:

1. The judge denies that he has been guilty of bribery, though not accused of it in the play, nor, historically, in the administration of justice in his court.

Bacon fell from power in the spring of 1621, under charges of bribery, which he also declared to be false and of which we now know he was innocent.

2. The judge had sent a book of which he was author to the king and been "preferred" on account of it.

Bacon sent a copy of his *Novum Organum* in 1620 to King James, who immediately created him Viscount St. Alban.

3. The judge had bestowed large gifts on persons of subordinate rank.

Bacon's generosity to the same class of people was a distinguishing trait in his character. He frequently gave gratuities to messengers, who came to him with presents, of £5 10s., or (in money of the present time) £66 ($330). On one occasion the gratuity (present value) was £300, or $1,500. In three months (June 24 to Sept. 29, 1618) he disbursed in this way the sum of £302 7s., equal now to £3,600, or $18,000. This was at the rate of $72,000 per annum.

4. The judge had conversed on public affairs with foreign potentates.

Bacon had been attaché of a British embassy abroad, and on intimate terms with kings and queens.

The above addition to Judge Say's speech was thus made not only after 1619, at which time the reputed poet had been three years in his grave at Stratford, but even after

May 3, 1621, the date of Bacon's degradation from the bench on charges of bribery.

Coincidence number fourteen.

XV

'Love's Labor's Lost' is one of the earliest of the Shake-speare dramas. Mr. Staunton assigns its production to a period somewhere between 1587 and 1591. The best evidence indicates that it was written in or about 1588.[1]

The scene is laid at the court of Navarre, a small rude kingdom situated between France and Spain among the Pyrenees Mountains. The writer of the play seems to have been strangely familiar not only with this distant and at that time little-known territory, but also with its internal politics, for he has introduced, as *dramatis personæ*, the king himself and the leading councillors of state, mostly under their proper names. The king was at a later day the famous Henry IV. of France, but, as he was living when the play was published in 1598, Shake-speare has given him the name of Ferdinand. Of the king's councillors, we have also in the play Biron and Longaville (Longueville), both of whom were active in the cause of Henry, and Boyet (Bois), who was the king's marshal at Paris and who came to Navarre in the train of the princess.

The question arises, how did the dramatist acquire this intimate knowledge of the court of Navarre in 1588, at so early a period in the career of its king?

William Shakspere came to London from an illiterate town, himself wholly illiterate, in or about 1586, one year or so only before the composition of the play. On the other hand, Anthony Bacon went to the Continent in 1579, and for five years — to wit, from 1585 to 1590 — was an honored guest at Henry's court in Navarre, "on terms of close intimacy,"

[1] See *infra*, page 65.

says the Dictionary of National Biography (ii. 325), "with the king's councillors," and in confidential correspondence with his brother Francis in London.

The author of the play had knowledge, also, of a very obscure event in the history of Navarre, which, it is safe to say, was unknown in England in the time of Shake-speare, especially to persons who had never crossed the channel. We find it in the chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, where it is thus narrated: —

"Charles, King of Navarre, came to Paris to wait on the King. He negotiated so successfully with the King and his Privy Council that he obtained a gift of the castle of Nemours, with some of its dependant castlewicks, which territory was made a duchy. He instantly did homage for it, and at the same time surrendered to the King the Castle of Cherbourg, the county of Evreux, and all other lordships he possessed within the kingdom of France, renouncing all claim or profit in them to the King and to his successors, on consideration that with this duchy of Nemours the King of France engaged to pay him two hundred thousand gold crowns of the coin of the King our Lord." — i. 54.

This is given in the play as follows: —

"Madam, your father here doth intimate
The payment of a hundred thousand crowns,
Being but the one half of an entire sum
Disbursed by my father in his wars.
But say that he or we (as neither have)
Received that sum; yet there remains unpaid
A hundred thousand more." — ii. 1.

The Chronicles of Monstrelet were not translated into English until 1809, or more than two hundred years after the play was written. That Shake-speare, the dramatist, was perfectly competent to read Monstrelet in the original French, however, there is sufficient evidence in the play itself. He puns twice in that language; once when he uses the word "capon" in the double sense of a fowl and a love-letter, and

again the word "point" as the tip of a sword and a strong French negative. The play is also full of sentences in Latin, Spanish, and Italian, so much so that Professor Stapfer thinks it "over-cumbered with learning, not to say pedantic." Another commentator finds in it a "manifest ostentation of book-learning." Francis Bacon, it must be remembered, spent nearly three years in France and at other places on the continent in his youth, after a course of study at Cambridge University.

Singularly enough, also, the embassy of the princess itself had an historical basis. Catherine de Medici made a journey from Paris to Navarre, "with many beautiful ladies," it is expressly stated, "in her train," in 1586, of which, it is quite safe to say, there could not have been any public account, known in England, in 1588. This took place, however, during Anthony Bacon's residence in Navarre. In 'All's Well that Ends Well,' we read, —

"I am St. Jacques' pilgrim, thither gone." — iii. 4.

St. Jacques had a church dedicated to him at Orleans, to which in the time of Francis Bacon's visit to that city pilgrims were used to resort. This fact could scarcely have then been known in England, certainly not with such prominence as to suggest the statement in the text; for, as Richard Grant White says, "it has no relation whatever to the dramatic progress, the interest, or even the vraisemblance of the scene. For Shake-speare's purpose one saint was as good as another, — St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick excepted."

Mr. George James of Birmingham, Eng., calls attention to the use of the word *l'envoy* in this play. The word is in the highest degree technical. Etymologically considered, it means simply what is sent, but, as defined by the dramatist himself, it is the last couplet of a song, —

"An epilogue or discourse, to make plain
Some obscure precedence that hath tofore been sain." — iii. 1.

Such songs, according to a custom peculiar to France, were written in competition for prizes, and, it is needless to add, would have been unknown at that time to a foreigner who had not studied French lyric poetry on the spot.

Mr. James has also been able to connect one of the principal characters of the play historically with Francis Bacon. He identifies Antonio Perez, the well-known Spanish refugee, with Don Armado. Perez visited England in 1593, and at once, joining the followers of Essex, was presented to the Bacon brothers, with whom for a time he seems to have been on terms of intimacy. The intimacy, however, was of short duration, for the Spaniard speedily developed so much affectation and bombast in the courtly circles to which he had been admitted that he soon fell into contempt. Essex left London to avoid him. In the following year Perez published a book under the assumed name of Raphael Peregrino, an undoubted allusion to which Mr. James discovers in 'Love's Labor's Lost.' Holophernes is ridiculing Don Armado, who, like Perez, is a "traveller from Spain" and noted for his bombastic style of writing, and says of him, —

> "He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were, too *peregrinate*, as I may call it." — v. 1.

As if to make the reference more pointed and unmistakable, Sir Nathaniel replies, —

> "A most singular and choice epithet,"

and at once enters it in his note-book. Don Armado is, of course, a caricature of Perez.

'Love's Labor's Lost' was first printed in 1598, with the statement on its titlepage that it had been "newly corrected and augmented." This parody on Perez' sobriquet was evidently one of the augmentations.

But it is in the *motif* or *raison d'être* of the comedy that we find the strongest proof of its Baconian authorship. 'Love's Labor's Lost' stands, indeed, as one of Bacon's earliest protests against the barren philosophy of his time.

According to the play, the King of Navarre and his nobles pledge themselves under oath to retire from the world for three years and give their whole attention during that time to study. They are to lay aside all the cares, obligations, and pleasures of life for this purpose. The comedy turns upon the utter futility of such a scheme. It is a travesty on the kind of learning, and particularly on the methods of acquiring learning, then in vogue. For ages men had sought knowledge by turning their backs upon nature and upon human life. All that they had wanted was Aristotle and the Fathers; all that they acquired was, in the language of Hamlet, "words, words, words."

In the 'Advancement of Learning' Bacon attributes to this method of study what he calls the "first distemper of learning." He says: —

"Men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of nature and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reasons and conceits.

"As many substances in nature which are solid do putrefy and corrupt into worms, so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrefy into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen; who had sharp and strong wits, abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading; but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator), as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges; and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did, out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit." — Book I.

Here, then, is the key to the drama of 'Love's Labor's Lost.' It was Bacon's first indictment against the Aristotelian philosophy as it had been studied by the schoolmen, and as it was still studied and taught in his own time. The lesson it teaches is this: that the closer the scholar keeps himself in touch with his fellow-men, the more successful will he be in the pursuit of truth. The rays of the sun give out no heat till they strike the earth; so those of truth cannot warm or fructify till they come into actual contact with human life.

Bacon left the University of Cambridge in his sixteenth year, before the completion of his course and without a degree. He did this, as he afterwards explained to Dr. Rawley, because he was disgusted with the methods of study which prevailed there, and which, it appears, are ridiculed in 'Love's Labor's Lost.'

Coincidence number fifteen.

XVI

One of the most amusing characters in Shake-speare is Dr. Caius in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor.' He is an irascible, hot-headed French physician, who is ready to draw his rapier on the slightest provocation against anybody who comes in his way, but with a special antipathy toward the honest Welsh parson, Sir Hugh Evans. Seeing in Evans a possible rival for the hand of Mistress Anne Page, he sends a challenge to him, charging the messenger who carries it, —

"You jack'nape, give-a this letter to Sir Hugh; by gar, it is a challenge; I vill cut his troat in de Park; and I vill teach a scurvy jack-a-nape priest to meddle — by gar, I vill kill de jack priest." — i. 4.

At the appointed time and place for the duel the parson fails to appear, whereupon the following colloquy occurs between Caius and his servant: —

"*Caius.* Vat is de clock, Jack?

"*Rugby.* 'T is past the hour, sir, that Sir Hugh promised to meet.

"*Caius.* By gar, he has save his soul, dat he is no come; he has pray his Pible well, dat he is no come; by gar, Jack Rugby, he is dead already, if he be come.

"*Rugby.* He is wise, sir; he knew your worship would kill him, if he came.

"*Caius.* By gar, de herring is no dead so as I vill kill him. Take your rapier, Jack; I vill tell you how I vill kill him.

"*Rugby.* Alas, sir, I cannot fence.

"*Caius.* Villany, take your rapier." — ii. 3.

On another occasion he threatens Simple, whom Mistress Quickly for his safety had hidden in a closet, with instant death.

It may astonish some of our readers to learn that this ridiculous character in the play was drawn from life. The prototype was Dr. John Caius of Cambridge University, a physician, the re-founder of Gonville Hall (which still in part bears his name), and in his relations with the students an exceedingly choleric and revengeful instructor. His true name was Kaye, but as he had been educated abroad, and was inclined to ape foreign manners, he changed his English cognomen into its Latin form, Caius, by which he was then and is now generally known. The Dictionary of National Biography says of him: —

"Caius's relations with the society over which he ruled at Cambridge were less happy. Lying, as he did, under the suspicion of aiming at a restoration of Catholic doctrine, he was an object of dislike to the majority of the fellows, and could with difficulty maintain his authority. He retaliated vigorously on the malcontents. He not only involved them in law-suits which emptied their slender purses, but visited them with personal castigations, and even incarcerated them in the stocks. Expulsions were frequent, not less than twenty of the fellows, according to the statement of one of their number, having suffered this extreme penalty."

To complete the likeness between the two characters, dramatic and historical, we find that Caius had an especial antipathy to Welshmen, for in the ordinances of the college founded by him, Welshmen are expressly excluded from the privileges of fellowship.

It appears then —

1. That both were physicians.
2. That both came from abroad.
3. That both were phenomenally quarrelsome, even to the extent of inflicting chastisement upon others with their own hands.
4. That both hated Welshmen.

Now, how did William Shakspere of Stratford become acquainted with these idiosyncrasies of a Cambridge professor, and how did he acquire sufficient interest in the subject to induce him, twenty-nine years after the professor's death, to hold the man up to public ridicule in a play? Dr. Caius died in July, 1573, at which time the reputed poet was living at Stratford, nine years old. The controversy, as it raged in Cambridge and as it is reflected in the play, was a personal one, and in the absence of newspapers or equivalent means of disseminating general information, could hardly have been known beyond university circles.

Francis Bacon was the nephew of Lord Treasurer Burghley, to whom the students appealed for protection against their oppressor. He entered the university in April, 1573, three months before Dr. Caius' death and in the height of the prevailing excitement.

Coincidence number sixteen.

XVII

The tragedy of 'Othello' was first printed in quarto in 1622 (six years after the reputed author's death), though it had been in existence as an acting play for ten or twelve

years preceding. In the folio of 1623, it appears in a revised form, containing among other striking improvements one hundred and sixty additional lines, due without the slightest doubt to the dramatist himself. Among these lines we find the following:

> "Like to the Pontic sea,
> Whose icy current and compulsive course
> Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
> To the Propontic and the Hellespont." — iii. 3.

It seems to be probable, then, that sometime between the date of the first appearance of the play on the stage (1610) and that in the Folio (1623) the author's attention had been called to a tidal peculiarity of the Mediterranean Sea; namely, that the current through the Bosphorus flows continuously in one direction, from east to west. William Shakspere died in Stratford six years before the first publication of the play in its original draft, which was, as we have said, in 1622. Francis Bacon investigated the tides of the Mediterranean in or about 1616, and in his treatise on the subject, entitled *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris*, made especial reference to the fact that through the Bosphorus the tide never ebbs.[1]

It is curious, also, that the two seas, east and west of the Bosphorus, are mentioned under the same names by both authors:

> Pontus and Propontis — BACON.
> Pontic and Propontic — SHAKE-SPEARE.

Coincidence number seventeen.

XVIII

'Timon of Athens' was neither printed in quarto nor, so far as we know, produced on the stage, previously to its appearance in the folio of 1623. No hint of its existence

[1] Bacon had no knowledge, of course, of the undercurrent flowing the other way, nor of the extent of evaporation from the surface of the Mediterranean, amounting to eight or ten feet per annum.

before that date has ever been discovered in contemporaneous literature. This is true of no other play in the Shakespearean canon. At the outset of our inquiry, then, we encounter a presumption that the 'Timon' of Shake-speare was a new drama, fresh from the hand of its author in 1623, or seven years after the death of the reputed poet at Stratford. Indeed, the character of the play itself seems to raise this presumption to the level of a probability, if not, in connection with other well-known facts, to that of a practical certainty.

Timon was a citizen of Athens; at the beginning of his career, of large means, but so prodigal of expenditure for the good of others that he finally became bankrupt. His ruin was due to an excess of generosity, or to a fatal inappreciation of the value of money. At the slightest need of a friend or even of a servant his hand and purse were always ready to help. The consequence was, that falling at last into great pecuniary straits, and seeking in vain to supply his wants from those whom he had befriended, he became a misanthrope.

Except in one particular, this is an exact portraiture of Francis Bacon, and one drawn at the exact time in his own life when he too encountered a like experience of ingratitude.

Bacon was perhaps the most prodigal man that ever lived, more so even than was the younger Pitt, in both of whom indifference to money considerations amounted almost to a disease. Bacon kept his money in his library, in a chest to which his servants had free access and from which they were accustomed at pleasure to fill their pockets. On one occasion he gave to the man who brought him a buck as a present from the king £25, a gratuity equal in our time and in our money to $1500. Young men of good families flocked to his service, because they were sure not only of generous and kindly treatment while they were in it, but also of gratuitous and valuable preferments when they left. At his downfall, however, all his parasites forsook him. In vain he

begged for help. His letters to Buckingham and the king on the subject of his pecuniary distresses are extremely pathetic. His experiences are precisely those of Timon in the play, though with one characteristic divergence, namely: under the rules of dramatization Timon becomes a misanthrope; Bacon's sweetness of disposition is retained to the last.

Bacon falls from power in 1621; the play first becomes known in 1623.

Coincidence number eighteen.

XIX

'Henry VIII.' was also one of those dramas of Shakespeare, sixteen in number, that were printed for the first time in the folio of 1623. Possibly it was in existence in an earlier draft in 1613, for at the burning of the Globe Theatre on the afternoon of June 29 of that year, a play, described by a contemporary as "representing some principal pieces in the reign of Henry VIII." was in course of performance there, under the title of 'All is True.' Whether this be so or not, the drama, as we now have it, seems in some important particulars to have been suggested by the condition of things under King James in 1621. It treats of fallen greatness, of Queen Catharine, the divorced wife of Henry, and of Lord Chancellor Wolsey, who was degraded from his high office, stripped of the seals, and ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower.

The argument for Bacon's authorship of this play may be rested in part on three points:

1. The author was indebted for some of his materials directly to Cavendish's 'Life of Wolsey,' which, though written in 1557, was not printed until 1641, or eighteen years after the appearance of the play. As Bacon was one of Wolsey's successors in office, he would naturally have had access to this manuscript, while a play actor would not.

2. It is practically certain that in 1622–23, Bacon was engaged upon a work pertaining to the reign of Henry VIII. He completed his history of Henry VII. in October, 1621. This was so much admired that Prince Charles immediately requested him to write also the history of Henry VIII. Bacon promised to do so. Accordingly, in January, 1623, he applied to the proper authorities for the loan of such documents as might be in the public archives relating to that monarch's reign. The application was formally granted. At this time, Bacon appears to have been actually at work in real or apparent fulfilment of his undertaking, for under date of February 10, Mr. Chamberlain writes: —

"Lord [Bacon] busies himself about books, and hath set out two lately, '*Historia Ventorum*' and '*De Vita et Morte*,' with promises of more. I have not seen either of them because I have not leisure; but if the life of Henry VIII., which they say he is about, might come out after his own manner, I should find time and means enough to read it."

A few days later (February 21), Bacon himself writes to Buckingham, who had gone to Spain with Prince Charles, asking to be remembered to the Prince, "who, I hope ere long, will make me leave King Henry VIII. and set me on work in relation to his Highness's heroical adventures."

The next reference to the subject is also in one of Bacon's own letters. Acknowledging the receipt of a communication from Toby Matthew, June 26, 1623, he says: —

"Since you say the Prince hath not forgot his commandment touching my history of Henry VIII., I may not forget my duty. But I find Sir Collier, who poured forth what he had in my other work, somewhat dainty of his materials in this."

It appears, however, that notwithstanding all these repeated implications to the effect that he was engaged upon a history of Henry VIII., he was actually doing no such thing. He did, indeed, make a beginning; he gathered materials; he dictated one morning about two pages; and then he wrote to

the prince, apologizing for not going on with the work and for dropping it altogether. But did he drop it? From whose pen came those wonderful panegyrics of Queen Elizabeth and King James that were printed six months afterward in the drama of 'Henry VIII.,' and that can be exactly paralleled in the 'Advancement of Learning' and the *In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ*? Those heart-breaking lamentations over fallen greatness, such as Bacon must have still been uttering in private over his own downfall in 1621? Those entrancing visions of peace and plenty, of honor and gladness for the English people, characteristic of one in whom forgiveness of injuries was a cardinal virtue, and love of mankind an absorbing passion?

3. Queen Catharine, the first wife of King Henry VIII., made her residence during the latter part of her life at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. The Duke of Manchester, to whom the place belongs, published in 1864 a valuable collection of papers, found in the castle and at Simancas in Spain, which show that of all the numerous and gifted persons who have written of that unfortunate princess, two, and two only, have correctly adjudged her character. These two, thus in singular agreement, are Francis Bacon and the author of the Shake-speare dramas. The Duke says: —

"So far as concerns all popular ideas of her, Catharine is a creature of the mist. Shakespeare and Bacon, the highest judges and firmest painters of character, have, it is true, described her, if only lightly and by the way, as a woman of flesh and blood; the flesh rather stubborn, the blood somewhat hot; as a lady who could curse her enemies and caress her friends; a princess full of natural graces, virtues, and infirmities. Had the portraits by Shakespeare and Bacon been painted in full, they would have been all that we could hope or wish. But they are only fragments of the whole; and the work of all minor hands is nothing, or worse than nothing. In these inferior pencillings, the woman is concealed beneath the veil of a nun. In place of a girl full of sun and life, eager to love and to be loved, enamoured of state and pomp, who liked a good

dinner, a new gown, above all a young husband; one who had her quarrels, her debts, her feminine fibs, and her little deceptions, even with those who were most near and dear to her; a creature to be kissed and petted, to be adored, and chidden, and ill-used — all of which Catharine was in the flesh — we find a cold, grim Lady Abbess, a creature too pious for the world in which her lot was cast, too pure for the husband who had been given to her. Such a conception is vague in outline and false in spirit. Catharine was every inch a woman before she became every inch a queen." — *Court and Society*, i. 5.

This judgment is confirmed by high literary authority:

"The whole story of the Queen, as now told from the ample Simancas text, is in perfect harmony with what Shakespeare and Bacon say of her." — *The Athenæum, January* 16, 1867.

Lord Montagu of Kimbolton, first Earl of Manchester, was one of Bacon's dearest friends.

Coincidence number nineteen.

XX

The 'Tempest' was published for the first time in the Folio edition of 1623; it was probably written in 1613. That the author intended it as a fitting close to his series of dramas appears from the following passage, in which Prospero, referring to certain exhibitions of his "potent art" given in the play, expresses his determination to exercise the art no longer:

"I have bedimm'd
The noontide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault
Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt; the strong-bas'd promontory
Have I made shake; and by the spurs pluck'd up
The pine and cedar; graves at my command
Have wak'd their sleepers, op'd, and let 'em forth
By my so potent art. — But this rough magic

I here abjure; and when I have requir'd
Some heavenly music (which even now I do),
To work mine end upon their senses, that
This airy charm is for, I 'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,
I 'll drown my book." — *Tempest*, v. i.

It is generally considered, and we think rightfully so, that the character, speaking thus, personates the author. As Duke of Milan, we find Prospero "loving his books," prosecuting "secret studies," and acquiring a knowledge of

— "liberal arts
Without a parallel."

The result was, as we learn from the play, that he gained a power over nature that staggers imagination to conceive. By his "magic art," he controlled not only the forces of the physical world, but also the invisible spirits of the air, and even the brute creation. Ariel and Caliban alike do his bidding. The play turns upon the beneficent use of these powers, counteracting evil and enthroning love. The inquiry now arises, has such a play any significancy as the capstone in the arch of the Shakespearean dramatic productions?

Bacon called his system of philosophy *Instauratio Magna*, the Great Restoration; that is, the restoration of mankind to empire over nature, and to the conditions of happiness which were lost in the Garden of Eden. He says:

"When man's understanding is emancipated and come, as it were, of age, there cannot but follow an improvement in his estate, and an enlargement of his dominion over nature. For man by the fall fell at the same time from his state of innocency and from his dominion over creation. Both of these losses, however, can even in this life be in some part repaired; the former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences." — BACON'S *Novum Organum*.

In this view of 'The Tempest,' as a dramatization of 'Paradise Regained,' let us gather up some of the details under specific heads, as follows: —

1. Creation.

"And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night." — *Genesis* i. 16.

"*Caliban.* When thou camest first,
Thou didst . . . teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night." — *Tempest*, i. 2.

2. First Meeting of Ferdinand and Miranda.

[*Re-enter Ariel, invisible, playing and singing; Ferdinand following.*]

"*Ferdinand.* Where should this music be? i' th' air, or th' earth?
It sounds no more; — and sure, it waits upon
Some god o' th' island. Sitting on a bank,
Weeping against the king my father's wreck,
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury and my passion,
With its sweet air. Thence I have follow'd it,
Or it hath drawn me, rather; — but 't is gone.
No, it begins again. . . . [*Ariel sings.*
This is no mortal business, nor no sound
That the earth owes; I hear it now above me.
[*Miranda sees Ferdinand.*

Miranda [*to Prospero*]. What is 't? a spirit?
Lord, how it looks about! Believe me, sir,
It carries a brave form; — but 't is a spirit.

Prospero. No, wench; it eats and sleeps, and hath such senses
As we have. This gallant, which thou seest,
Was in the wreck; and but he 's something stain'd
With grief, that 's beauty's canker, thou mightst call him
A goodly person. He hath lost his fellows,
And strays about to find 'em.

Miranda. I might call him
A thing divine, for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble. [*Ferdinand sees Miranda.*

Ferdinand. Most sure, the goddess
On whom these airs attend! Vouchsafe, my pray'r
May know if you remain upon this island,
And that you some instruction give,
How I may bear me here; my prime request,
Which I do last pronounce, is, O you wonder!
If you be maid, or no?

Miranda. No wonder, sir;
But, certainly, a maid." — *Tempest*, i, 2.

3. Love at First Sight.

"*Prospero.* [*Aside*]. At the first sight
They have chang'd eyes.
Miranda. This
Is the third man that e'er I saw; the first
That e'er I sigh'd for." — *Ibid.*

4. The Courtship.

[*Enter Ferdinand and Miranda; the former piling logs.*]

"*Miranda.* Alas, now, pray you,
Work not so hard; I would, the lightning had
Burnt up those logs that you are enjoin'd to pile.
Pray set it down and rest you; when this burns,
'T will weep for having wearied you. My father
Is hard at study; pray now, rest yourself;
He 's safe for these three hours.
Ferdinand. O, most dear mistress!
The sun will set before I shall discharge
What I most strive to do.
Mira. If you 'll sit down,
I 'll bear your logs the while. Pray, give me that;
I 'll carry it to the pile.
Fer. No, precious creature:
I had rather crack my sinews, break my back,
Than you should such dishonor undergo,
While I sit lazy by.
Mira. It would become me
As well as it does you; and I should do it
With much more ease, for my good will is to it,
And yours is against.

. . . . . .

You look wearily.
Fer. No, noble mistress; 't is fresh morning with me,
When you are by at night. I do beseech you,
Chiefly that I might set it in my prayers,
What is your name?
Mira. Miranda — O my father!
I have broke your hest to say so.

Fer. Admir'd Miranda!
Indeed, the top of admiration, worth
What 's dearest to the world ! Full many a lady
I have eye'd with best regard ; and many a time
The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
Brought my too diligent ear ; for several virtues
Have I lik'd several women ; never any
With so full soul, but some defect in her
Did quarrel with the noblest grace she ow'd,
And put it to the foil ; but you, O you,
So perfect, and so peerless, are created
Of every creature's best.
Mira. I do not know
One of my sex ; no woman's face remember,
Save, from my glass, mine own ; nor have I seen
More that I may call men, than thou, good friend,
And my dear father ; how features are abroad,
I am skill-less of ; but by my modesty
(The jewel in my dower), I would not wish
Any companion in the world but you ;
Nor can imagination form a shape,
Besides yourself, to like of. But I prattle
Something too wildly, and my father's precepts
I therein do forget.

. . . . . .

Fer. Hear my soul speak.
The very instant that I saw you, did
My heart fly to your service ; there resides,
To make me slave to it ; and for your sake
Am I this patient log-man.
Mira. Do you love me ?
Fer. O heaven ! O earth ! bear witness to this sound,
And crown what I profess with kind event,
If I speak true ; if hollowly, invert
What best is boded me to mischief ! I,
Beyond all limit of what else i' the world,
Do love, prize, honor you." — *Tempest*, iii. 1.

5. The Betrothal.

" *Ferdinand.* Wherefore weep you ?
Miranda. At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
What I desire to give ; and much less take,

What I shall die to want; but this is trifling;
And all the more it seeks to hide itself,
The bigger bulk it shows. Hence, bashful cunning!
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!
I am your wife, if you will marry me;
If not, I 'll die your maid; to be your fellow
You may deny me; but I 'll be your servant,
Whether you will or no.

Fer. My mistress, dearest,
And I thus humble, ever.

Mira. My husband then?[1]

Fer. Ay, with a heart as willing
As bondage e'er of freedom; here 's my hand.

Mira. And mine, with my heart in't." — *Tempest*, iii. 1.

"The whole courting scene, indeed, in the beginning of the third act, between the lovers, is a masterpiece; and the first dawn of disobedience in the mind of Miranda to the command of her father is very finely drawn, so as to seem the working of the Scriptural command — *Thou shalt leave father and mother*, &c. O! with what exquisite purity this scene is conceived and executed!" — COLERIDGE'S *Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare*, i. 102.

6. THE PROHIBITION.

"And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it." — *Genesis* ii. 16-17.

"*Prospero* [*to Ferdinand*].

Then, as my gift, and thine own acquisition,
Worthily purchased, take my daughter; but

---

[1] Our readers will notice that it is Miranda, not Ferdinand, who asks the momentous question. Shake-speare had prepared the way for this in his 'Troilus and Cressida,' written four years earlier:

"*Cressida* [*to Troilus*]. Though I lov'd you well, I woo'd you not;
And yet, good faith, I wish'd myself a man,
Or that we women had men's privilege
Of speaking first." — iii. 2, 125-128.

Bacon had evidently considered the same innovation, for in his 'Advertisement touching an Holy War' he imagines a country under the full control of women. "I speak," says he, "not of the reign of women (for that is supplied by counsel and subordinate magistrates masculine), but where the regiment of state, of justice, of families, is all managed by women."

If thou dost break her virgin-knot before
All sanctimonious ceremonies may,
With full and holy rite, be minister'd,
No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
To make this contract grow, but barren hate,
Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly,
That you shall hate it both ; therefore, take heed,
As Hymen's lamps shall light you." — *Tempest*, iv. 1.

7. The Marriage.

Enter Ceres.

[*To Iris.*

" *Ceres.* Hail, many-color'd messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter ;
Who with thy saffron wings upon my flowers
Diffusest honey-drops, refreshing showers,
And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
My bosky acres, and my unshrubb'd down,
Rich scarf to my proud earth ; why hath thy queen
Summon'd me hither, to this short-grass'd green ?

Iris. A contract of true love to celebrate ;
And some donation freely to estate
On the blest lovers.

. . . . . .

Enter Juno.

[*To Ceres.*

Juno. How does my bounteous sister ? Go with me
To bless this twain, that they may prosperous be,
And honor'd in their issue. [*They sing.*

Juno. Honor, riches, marriage-blessing,
Long continuance, and increasing,
Hourly joys be still upon you !
Juno sings her blessings on you.

Ceres. Earth's increase, foison plenty,
Barns and garners never empty ;
Vines with clustering bunches growing ;
Plants with goodly burthen bowing ;
Spring come to you at the farthest
In the very end of harvest !
Scarcity and want shall shun you ;
Ceres' blessing so is on you."

"*Iris.* You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the winding brooks,
With your sedg'd crowns and ever harmless looks,
Leave your crisp channels, and on this green land,
Answer your summons; Juno does command.
Come, temperate nymphs, and help to celebrate
A contract of true love." — *Tempest*, iv. 1.

8. THE "SERPENT."

"Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made." — *Genesis* iii. 1.

"*Prospero.* The son that she did litter here.
Ariel. Yes, Caliban, her son." — *Ibid.*, i. 2.

Enter Caliban. A noise of thunder heard.

"*Caliban.* All the infections that the sun sucks up
From bogs, fens, flats, on Prosper fall, and make him
By inch-meal a disease! His spirits hear me,
And yet I needs must curse. . . . Sometime am I
All wound with adders, who with cloven tongues
Do hiss me into madness.

. . . . . .

Stephano. Mercy, mercy! This is a devil, and no monster; I will leave him; I have no long spoon." — *Ibid.* ii. 2.

Rev. Adam Clarke, in his popular Commentaries on the Bible, contends that the Serpent of the Garden was a simian, originally of erect posture and with powers of reason and speech. The author of the 'Tempest' seems to have had a similar conception of him. Indeed, Miranda herself is a witness on this point, for, referring to Ferdinand, she says, —

"This
Is the third man that e'er I saw," —

her father and Caliban having been the other two. That Caliban was really a brute, however, appears from the fact that his mother, Sycorax, was

. . . . . "not honor'd with
A human shape."

9. No Labor.

"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread." —*Genesis* iii. 19. [*Penalty inflicted after the Fall.*]

"All things in common nature should produce,
Without sweat or endeavor." — *Tempest*, ii. 1.

[*After restoration.*]

"After the creation was finished, it is said that man was placed in the garden to work therein; which work could only be work of contemplation; that is, the end of his work was but for exercise and delight, and not for necessity. For there being then no reluctance of the creature, *nor sweat of the brow*, man's employment was consequently matter of pleasure, not labor." —Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.

10. Penitence and Forgiveness.

"*Prospero.* Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the quick,
Yet with my nobler reason, 'gainst my fury,
Do I take part. The rarer action is,
In virtue than in vengeance; they being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown further. Go, release them, Ariel.
My charms I 'll break, their senses I 'll restore,
And they shall be themselves.
Ariel. I 'll fetch them, sir." — *Tempest*, v. i.

11. Command over Nature.

In the time of Bacon the physical world was conceived of as made up of four fundamental elements, namely: earth, water, fire, and air. Prospero is represented in the play as commanding all of these in the two beings who do his will. Ariel is a compound of air and fire; Caliban, of earth and water. The former is pure spirit, and Bacon describes spirit as a composition of fire and air. The latter is addressed by Prospero as: —

"Thou earth, thou! speak;" —

and Trinculo calls him at first a fish: —

"What have we here? a man or a fish? dead or alive? A fish; he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell. A strange fish!"

Evidently the dramatist had the four constituent elements of matter in view in depicting the characters of Ariel and Caliban and placing them at the service of Prospero.

12. The New World, or Eden Restored.

"*Gonzalo.* I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things ; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit ; no name of magistrate ;
Letters should not be known ; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none ; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none ;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil ;
No occupation ; all men idle, all ;
And women too, but innocent and pure ;
No sovereignty ; —

. . . . . .

All things in common nature should produce,
Without sweat or endeavor ; treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
Would I not have ; but nature should bring forth,
Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.

. . . . . .

I would with such perfection govern, sir,
To excel the golden age." — *Tempest*, ii. 1.

"*Miranda.* O, wonder !
How many goodly creatures are there here !
How beauteous mankind is ! O brave new world,
That has such people in 't ! " — *Ibid.* v. 1.

"*Ferdinand.* Let me live here forever.
So rare a wonder'd father, and a wife,
Makes this place Paradise." — *Ibid.* iv. 1.

"The 'Tempest' has a sort of sacredness as the last work of the mighty workman. Shakespeare, as if conscious that it would be his last, and as if inspired to typify himself, has made its hero a natural, dignified, and benevolent magician, who would conjure up spirits from the vasty deep, and command supernatural agency by the most seemingly natural and simple means. . . . Here Shakespeare himself is Prospero, or rather the superior genius who commands Prospero and Ariel." — Thomas Campbell.

The play was written, as we have said, in 1613. In that year Bacon became Attorney-General, with no prospect of leisure during the rest of his life, as Mr. Spedding observes, for other than professional work. It was then, we believe, that he sought to illustrate by anticipation, in this great drama of the 'Tempest,' some of the ripe fruits of his philosophy, the 'Great Restoration,' or 'Man's Empire Regained over Nature.'

Coincidence number twenty.

Chapter Two

THE EARLY AUTHORSHIP OF SHAKE-SPEARE

CRITICS are generally agreed that Shake-speare, or the author we call Shake-speare, began his dramatic career in or about the year 1592; that whatever he may have written previously to that date he wrote in collaboration with others; that he ceased to write in 1610 or 1612; and that he thus produced all the marvellous works that are ascribed to him in the comparatively short period of eighteen or twenty years. This statement we believe to be in all its parts erroneous; we believe that in 1592 Shake-speare had already acquired a marked pre-eminence among the dramatists of his time; that he collaborated with no one; that, beginning to write in 1580 or thereabouts, he continued to do so (with some interruptions toward the latter part of his life) until the publication of the first folio in 1623; and that he was thus almost constantly producing either new plays, or revised and improved versions of some of his older ones, during a period of more than forty years. The subject naturally divides itself under two heads, the early and the late authorship. The early authorship will be treated first.

We shall now undertake to show that the following-named Shakespearean plays were written before 1592, and substantially in the order given:

KING LEAR (King Leir and his Three Daughters).
HENRY V. (Famous Victories of Henry V.).
KING JOHN (Troublesome Reign of King John).
PERICLES.

TITUS ANDRONICUS.
THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.
HAMLET.
THE TAMING OF THE SHREW (Taming of a Shrew).
LOVE'S LABOR 'S LOST.
THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.
KING HENRY VI., Part I.
KING HENRY VI., Part II. (Contention.)
KING HENRY VI., Part III. (True Tragedy.)

We shall consider the plays in the reversed order of this list.

KING HENRY VI., Part III.

This play was first printed, anonymously, in octavo under the title of 'The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York,' in 1595. It is alluded to, however, in Greene's 'Groatsworth of Wit,' a book entered on the Stationers' Register September 20, 1592. Greene's statement is as follows:

"There is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and, being an absolute *Johannes Fac-totum*, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country."

The phrase, "tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide," is a parody on a line in 'Henry VI.,' Part III.:

"O tiger's heart, wrapped in a woman's hide!"

This allusion is proof that the play was in existence, and that it had become known to the public, in the summer of 1592.

KING HENRY VI., Part II.

Part II. of this triple drama was first published under the title, 'The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster,' in 1594. No evidence, external or internal, exists regarding the date of its composition. We may fairly presume, however, that it was written in its historical order; that is, in or about 1591.

KING HENRY VI., Part I.

Philip Henslowe, manager of the Rose Theatre in London, made a record in his diary, under date of March 3, 1591–92, of the performance of a play entitled 'Henry VI.' In the same year Thomas Nash, in his 'Pierce Penniless,' identifies this play as the Shakespearean 'King Henry VI.,' Part I., in the following unmistakable manner:

"How would it have joyed brave Talbot (the terror of the French) to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb he should triumph again on the stage; and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least (at several times), who in the tragedian that represents his person behold him bleeding."

Talbot figures as a prominent character, and particularly as a "terror to the French," in the play of 'King Henry VI.,' Part I. He is not mentioned in any other, known to us, of that period. We cannot therefore assign to this play of 'King Henry VI.,' Part I., a date of composition later than 1590–91.

THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.

The evidences of the early origin of 'The Comedy of Errors' are wholly internal; the earliest record which we can find of it is that of its performance at Gray's Inn (on which occasion Francis Bacon was master of ceremonies) in 1594. That it was written previously to August, 1589, we can assume with a good degree of confidence. Dromio's reply to Antipholus that he had found France in the forehead of the dame who insisted on exercising uxorial rights over him, "making war," as he said, "against her heir" (a pun on the word *hair*) fixes the period to which its composition may be assigned.

"*Ant. S.* Where France?

"*Dro. S.* In her forehead, arm'd and reverted, making war against her heir."—iii. 2.

Henry of Navarre became heir to the throne of France upon the death of the Duke of Anjou in 1584, but it was not till five years later that he was proclaimed king. The war against him, as "heir," began in April, 1585, and terminated at the death of Henry III. in August, 1589. The 'Comedy of Errors,' then, was probably written between these two dates, a further reference to the Spanish Armada, as an event then fresh in the minds of the people, indicating more definitely the year 1588.

LOVE'S LABOR 'S LOST.

The scene of this comedy is laid at the court of Navarre in Southern France. Navarre himself is the hero. The most prominent characters associated with the king in the play, Biron, Longaville, Dumain (Duc du Maine), bear names of persons who were also associated with the historic Navarre in the great events of 1585–89. It is hence inferred that the play was written during the stormy period of the French civil war, when interest in French politics attracted attention in England. The date was probably somewhat later than 1586, for an interview held in that year between the King of Navarre and Catherine de Médicis of France, in which the beauty of the ladies accompanying Catherine was conspicuous, seems to have furnished the prototype for one of the principal scenes of the play. Robert Tofte, in a poem which he published in 1598, referred to it as an old production. In literary style, on the other hand, the play clearly antedates the 'Comedy of Errors.'[1]

[1] The allusion to Banks's dancing horse (i. 2) is in no sense an obstacle to this view. The famous horse was on exhibition in London as early as 1588, and probably earlier, for Richard Tarlton, the comedian, who died September 2, 1588, made it the subject of a public jest. Banks seems to have trained several horses successively, his exhibitions of them covering a period of more than twenty years. He is said to have finally been burned at the stake, as a wizard, in company with one of his beasts, in Rome.

"At the beginning of Tofte's 'Alba' it is said: 'Love's Labour 's Lost I once did see,' which proves that the play must have been for years on the stage before it was printed." — ELZE'S *William Shakespeare*, p. 333.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.

The first draft of this play bore the title of 'The Taming of a Shrew.' It was so published anonymously in 1594. That it was in existence several years earlier, however, appears from a reference to it in Greene's 'Menaphon' under date of 1589. Greene is slurring the reputed author of Shakespeare, and says:

> "We had an ewe among our rams whose fleece was white as the hairs that grow on father Boreas' cheek."

Evidently a thrust at the 'Taming of a Shrew,' which contained the following:

> "*Fernando.* Tush, Kate, these words add greater love in me,
> And make me think thee fairer than before;
> Sweet Kate, the lovelier than Diana's purple robe,
> Whiter than are the snowy Apenis,
> Or icy hair that grows on Boreas' chin."

Thomas Nash also referred to this play in his letter prefixed to the 'Menaphon.' Criticising the same person as Greene did in the body of the work, — that is, one who was simply masquerading as a dramatist, — he called this reputed author the translator of "two penny pamphlets from the Italian," though possessing, as he said, not the slightest knowledge of that language. The only plays answering this description, then recently produced, were the 'Comedy of Errors' and the 'Taming of a Shrew.'

No good ground exists for a denial of Shakespearean authorship in the case of the 'Taming of a Shrew.' A comparison of the play as printed in 1594 with the folio version ought to make this clear to any one. The two coincide, not only in plot throughout their entire length, but verbally in not less than two hundred and fifty-six lines, scattered here and there, from beginning to end. No other author's name was ever suggested by contemporaries for either of them.

"The author of the 'Taming of a Shrew' was a genuine humorist; and Mr. Swinburne is speaking within bounds when he calls him, 'of all the pre-Shakespearians incomparably the truest, the richest, the most powerful and original humorist.'" — BULLEN'S *Works of Marlowe*, i. xxvi.

"According to Pope's supposition the earlier drama was a youthful production of the poet's own." — ELZE'S *William Shakespeare*, page 336.

HAMLET.

The earliest mention of 'Hamlet' is found in an address to the students of Oxford and Cambridge written by Thomas Nash and prefixed, as already noted, to Greene's 'Menaphon' in 1589. Nash refers to the play as one that had already become familiar to the students.

"It is a common practice, now-a-days, amongst a sort of shifting companions that run through every art and thrive by none, to leave the trade of *noverint* whereto they were born, and busy themselves with the endeavors of art, that could scarcely latinize their neck verse, if they should have need. Yet English Seneca, read by candle-light, yeilds many good sentences, as 'blood is a beggar,' and so forth; and if you entreat him fair in a frosty morning, he will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfuls of tragical speeches." — THOMAS NASH, 1589.

That this early 'Hamlet' was Shake-speare's, no unprejudiced person can entertain a doubt, for we are able to trace it in contemporary notices all along from 1589, as above shown, to its appearance in print in the Shakespearean quarto of 1603, as follows:

1591. The soliloquy, "to be or not to be," is mentioned by Nash, in his preface to Sidney's 'Astrophel and Stella,' as having been the subject of declamation on the public stage for five years preceding, or since 1586.

"Nor hath my prose any skill to imitate the almond leaf verse, or sit taboring five years together nothing but 'to be, to be,' on a paper drum."[1] — THOMAS NASH, 1591.

[1] "Paper drum is the slang word for dramatic poetry." — R. SIMPSON, *New Shakspere Soc. Trans.*, *London*, 1875, p. 175.

1594. Henslowe makes a note in his diary of a play called 'Hamlet,' acted in a theatre (Newington Butts) which the Shakespeare Company, as the Lord Chamberlain's men, was then temporarily occupying. He did not mark it "new," as he generally did on the occasion of a first performance.

"9th of June, 1594, Rd. at Hamlet . . . viijs." — HENSLOWE'S *Diary.*

"For a short time in 1594, he frequented the stage of another new theatre at Newington Butts." — SIDNEY LEE.

1596. 'Hamlet' is mentioned in a book by Dr. Lodge, the part of the ghost in the play having particularly impressed him.

"He walks for the most part in black under cover of gravity, and looks as pale as the vizard of the ghost which cried so miserably in the theatre, 'Hamlet, revenge.'" — LODGE'S *Wit's Misery,* 1596.

1598. Gabriel Harvey ascribes the poems 'Venus and Adonis' and 'Lucrece' and the play of 'Hamlet' to the same person.

"The younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's 'Venus and Adonis,' but his 'Lucrece' and his tragedy of 'Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,' have it in them to please the wiser sort." — GABRIEL HARVEY, 1598.

The above was found inscribed in a copy of Speght's Chaucer, owned by Harvey, with the date, 1598, appended to the entry. An attempt to show that this entry could not have been made till 1600, because of a reference also to *Translated Tasso,* has failed. Five books of the 'Jerusalem,' translated into English, were published by R. Carew in 1594.

Bishop Percy, who was the owner of Harvey's book in 1803, wrote to Malone, —

"In the passage which extols Shakespeare's tragedy, Spenser is quoted by name among our flourishing metricians. Now this edition of Chaucer was published in 1598, and Spenser's death is ascertained to have been in January, 1598–99, so that these passages

were all written in 1598, and proves that Hamlet [Shakespeare's Hamlet] was written before that year."

1602. Dekker quotes from 'Hamlet' in the same general terms as do Nash and Lodge, with special reference to the part of the ghost.

"My name 's Hamlet, revenge; thou hast been at Parris garden, hast not?" — DEKKER'S *Satiro-Mastix*, 1602.

"Our national tragedy [was] known originally under the title of the Revenge of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark." — HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS'S *Outlines*, i. 205 (1887).

1603. On the titlepage of the first edition of the Shakespeare 'Hamlet,' it is stated that the play had been many times acted at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. We know that this is true of the 'Hamlet' as described by Nash in 1589.

"As it hath been diverse times acted by his Highness' Servants in the city of London; as also in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and elsewhere." — *Title-page of first quarto Hamlet*, 1603.

Nash's letter of 1589 to the students, describing the play of 'Hamlet,' then in existence, as "full of tragical speeches," his reference two years later to the famous soliloquy on suicide and doubt, and the titlepage of the first edition of the Shakespearean 'Hamlet,' as quoted above, establish the authorship of the early play beyond the possibility of a doubt.

A further consideration, to strengthen the point, may be added.

The most striking figure of the play, as printed in 1603, and as we now have it, is the ghost of the murdered king, demanding revenge. This was not in the original prose legend of 'Hamlet,' as given by Saxo Grammaticus, nor in any subsequent version, down to the time of the drama, the murder having previously been represented as an open one, and therefore not requiring a messenger from the dead to

reveal it. So important a change must be ascribed to the creative genius of the dramatist himself.

There appears to be no escape from the conclusion that the great drama of 'Hamlet' was first drafted and produced on the stage as early as 1586. It reached its final form only in the folio of 1623.

"What really concerns us is to know whether, making large allowance for omissions and corruptions due to the negligence of those through whose hands the manuscript passed, the edition of 1603 exhibits the play as Shakespeare first wrote it and as it was 'divers times acted.' We believe it does."

HOWARD STAUNTON.

"My conviction is that in quarto first we have a rough-hewn draft of a noble drama (written probably 1587–89), 'divers times acted by his highness' servants' till 1602, when it was entered for publication and soon afterwards 'enlarged' and 'shaped,' as it appears in quarto second, by the divine bard's maturer mind."

SAMUEL TIMMINS.

"The edition of 1603, it can scarcely be doubted, represents, however imperfectly, Shakespeare's earlier conception of his great tragedy."[1] — THOMAS TYLER, *The Academy, June* 25, 1898.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.

This is undoubtedly one of the earliest of the Shake-speare plays. The source from which it was derived is also undoubted, a romance entitled 'Diana in Love,' written in Spanish by George de Montemayor before 1561, but not published in an English translation till 1598. The translator claims, however, to have had his work in manuscript

[1] Of all the absurdities of Shakespearean criticism, the notion that the first quarto of 'Hamlet' is simply an imperfect version of the second one, taken down at shorthand in the theatre and surreptitiously printed, is perhaps the most glaring. Besides the occurrence of many passages in the one (1603) which are not in the other (1604), — a fact that ought to settle the question at once, — the difference in mental power between the two is so great that nothing but the intervention of a comparatively long period of development in the life of the author can account for it.

for sixteen years prior to date of publication, or from the year 1582. The coincidences between the two works, the 'Diana' and the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' are too minute to have been accidental. In each a beautiful girl falls in love with a young man from whom she receives a clandestine letter by the hand of her maid. The letter is delivered to her, as narrated in both, under the same peculiar circumstances. The young man departing suddenly from home, she follows him in male attire, stops at an inn in the city where he has taken up his residence, and during the night hears him serenade a new lady-love. The next day, still disguised, she engages herself to him as a page, and thus becomes the unsuspected confidential messenger between her loved employer and the damsel who had supplanted her in his affections. The identity of the plot cannot be mistaken.

In January, 1585, as we know by the Court Records, a play was performed before the Queen at Greenwich under the name of 'The History of Felix and Philiomena.' As Felix is the name of the hero and Felismena that of the heroine of Montemayor's work, and as that work in its original language had then become known in England, it is evident that this play, acted at Greenwich, was a reproduction in some form of the Spanish romance. No author's name is given in the record, and nothing more is heard of the play or of its subject until 1598, when we find the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' based on the same story, attributed by Francis Meres to Shakespeare. That the two plays of 1585 and 1598 are substantially identical there can be no serious question, except on the ground, as stated by Collier, that at the first-mentioned date the translation of the Spanish work into English had not been given to the public, and was probably not accessible in manuscript to the dramatist. Could it be shown, however, that the author of Shake-speare had at that time an acquaintance with the Spanish language (as we know that Francis Bacon had), every difficulty would

vanish; and the early play, now without a claimant, would be placed at once and without a dissenting voice where it belongs. The date of composition of the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona' may therefore be assigned with reasonable certainty to the year 1584.

TITUS ANDRONICUS.

The evidence that 'Titus Andronicus' was one of the earliest of the Shake-speare canon is both external and internal. The external evidence rests on the testimony of Ben Jonson, who in the Introduction to his 'Bartholomew Fair' thus alludes to it:

"He that will swear Jeronimo or Andronicus are the best plays yet shall pass unexcepted at here as a man whose judgment shows it is constant and hath stood still these five and twenty or thirty years."

It is not known when the 'Bartholomew Fair' was written, probably but a short time before it was first acted in 1614. It is supposed by many to have marked the beginning of Jonson's quarrel with Inigo Jones, and therefore, as Jones left England in 1612 for an absence of several years, to have had its origin not later than that year. Reckoning backward "twenty-five or thirty years" from 1612, we obtain for the first performance of 'Titus Andronicus,' according to Jonson's larger estimate, precisely the date which the internal evidence gives us; namely, a year or two anterior to the production of the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' or about 1583.

"A play produced somewhere about the middle of the ninth decade [1580–90]. . . . The fact of its early date is indisputable." — KNIGHT'S *Shakespeare*, vii. 54–48.

"Andronicus must have been on the stage before Shakespeare left Warwickshire to come and reside in London." — UPTON'S *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*, p. 274.

It seems to be impossible for any one to doubt either that Shake-speare's genius in 'Titus Andronicus' was in the tram-

mels of a dramatic age then happily passing away, or that it took its first independent flight in the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona.' The two plays mark respectively the end of one era and the beginning of another. In the one, the characters are stilted, unnatural, and barbarous; "they are drawn from social life, at once ideal and true,"[1] in the other. As the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona' was certainly written as early as 1584, having been acted at Greenwich in January following, we may safely assign the composition of 'Titus Andronicus' to the year 1583. Jonson's testimony carries it back to the period 1582–87.[2]

"It is indisputable that 'Titus Andronicus,' if a work of Shakespeare's at all, is one of his earliest writings . . . produced during the first years of Shakespeare's life in London. . . . The refinement of feeling which the poet acquired in his maturity was not of necessity equally the attribute of his youth. . . . At that period scenes of blood and horror were not so rare on the great stage of real life as with us; upon the stage of art they commended a piece to hearers to whom the stronger the stimulant, the more it was agreeable. It is clear from Ben Jonson's before-mentioned testimony, that Titus was a welcome piece, which continued in favour on the stage, just as much as Schiller's 'Robbers.' Besides this approval of the people, the author of Titus could claim yet higher approbation. Whoever he might be, he was imbued, just as much as the poet of 'Venus' and 'Lucrece,' with the fresh remembrance of the classical school; Latin quotations, a predilection for Ovid and Virgil, for the tales of Troy and the Trojan party; and constant references to old mythology and history prevail throughout the play. An allusion to Sophocles' Ajax and similarity to passages of Seneca have been discovered in it. All the tragic legends of Greece and Rome were certainly present to the poet, and we know how full they are of terrible matter. The learned poet gathered them together, in

[1] 'Edinburgh Review,' July, 1840.

[2] Professor Elze goes so far as to say that in his opinion Shakspere brought the tragedy of 'Titus Andronicus' with him in his pocket from Stratford. This is, of course, a *reductio ad absurdum.*

order to compose his drama and its action, from the most approved poetical material of the ancients. When Titus disguises his revenge before Tamora, he plays the part of Brutus; when he stabs his daughter, that of Virginius; the dreadful fate of Lavinia is the fable of Tereus and Progne; the revenge of Titus on the sons of Tamora, that of Atreus and Thyestes; other traits remind of Æneas and Dido, of Lucretia and Coriolanus." — GERVINUS, *Commentaries,* pages 102–104.

PERICLES.

Perhaps the most popular play of the canon among the author's contemporaries was that which is least worthy of his pen, 'Pericles.' We know indirectly from Ben Jonson that as late as 1629 this production was still in great favor with the people.

"Come, leave the loathed stage.

. . . . . .

No doubt some mouldy tale,
Like Pericles, and stale
As the shrieve's crusts, and nasty as his fish,
Scraps out of every dish,
Thrown forth, and rak'd into the common tub,
May keep up the play-club."

JONSON'S *Ode to Himself,* 1629.

'Pericles' seems to have grown in favor as the years went by. In some notable passages, to be sure, it appeals to the lowest instincts of the rabble; but it rises to very high ideals of art in others. The most salient fact about it, however, lies in its exclusion from the first folio. Why was it so excluded? We find the answer to this question in Dryden's statement, made in 1675, that 'Pericles' was Shake-speare's first play; that is, the product of his early youth. The author in his maturity simply repudiated it as too sketchy, too imperfect for preservation among his other works. He drew the dividing line, it would seem, between 'Titus Andronicus,' which he let in, and 'Pericles,' which he shut out. Dryden gives a hint of this in his well-known verses:

"Shakespeare's own muse her Pericles first bore,
The Prince of Tyre is elder than the Moor;
'T is miracle to see a first good play;
All hawthorns do not bloom on Christmas day."

"We can scarcely expect to find better authority than this. It is a subject on which Dryden was likely to have been well informed." — HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS'S *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 139.

"We accept, then, Dryden's assertion with little doubt, and . . . with the conviction that, if it be the work of Shakespeare, the foundations of it were laid when his art was imperfect." — KNIGHT'S *Shakespeare*, vii. 116.

"The invention and composition of the tragedy and its notions of morality are all equally childish. As to invention, there is none; the author has simply followed the old romance, neither adding nor altering a single incident. . . . There is no sort of unity in it, not even the unity of action, — it is like the showing off of a magic lantern with an indefinite number of pictures, and the more slides there are in the box the better the children are pleased. So great is the dramatic feebleness of the poet that in his childish reproduction of the romance . . . he is obliged to have recourse to dumb show and to prologues to carry on a considerable part of the plot.

"We can well understand why many critics, in the absence of imperious external evidence, should have excluded this play, as unworthy, from the works of Shakespeare. Pope omitted it from his edition of the poet's work, and calls it in his preface a 'wretched play.'" — STAPFER'S *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity*, 285, 287.

It is easy to perceive, also, why 'Pericles' was not subsequently revised and perfected for publication in the folio. The author could not do this and remain true to his art without retaining the brothel scene, and with that he did not care again to soil his fingers.

'Pericles,' preceding 'Titus Andronicus,' was written in or about 1582.

We have now come to certain productions which belong, we think, to Shake-speare's boyhood.

THE TROUBLESOME REIGN OF KING JOHN.
THE FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V.
KING LEIR AND HIS THREE DAUGHTERS.

The 'Troublesome Reign of King John' was first printed, anonymously, and in ancient black-letter type, in 1591. It was reprinted in 1611, with the words "written by W. Sh." on the titlepage. Also again in 1622, then distinctly ascribed to "W. Shake-speare." Francis Meres mentioned it in his list of Shakespeare Plays, in 1598. In the folio of 1623, however, the play appeared re-written and enlarged as we now have it (under the title 'King John'), but in such a manner as to demonstrate beyond all serious doubt that the two versions were the product of the same hand, at different stages of the author's intellectual development. Indeed, the action in both is the same, and several passages are verbally identical.

"There are in it [the early play] many noble lines which Shakespeare himself might not have been ashamed of." — BANKSIDE *Shakespeare*, vol. 18, xiii.

"Shakespeare's play of 'King John' is immediately founded upon and follows an earlier play in two parts of the same subject and title. There is so much of sterling gold in the old, or rather say the earlier 'King John' in language and versification, in poetical ideas and expression, in humour, in power of dramatization, and in adumbration of character that the author has good claim for some trouble to be taken to identify him." — SINGER'S *Shakespeare*, iv. 388.

"Tieck alone maintains that every line of the earlier play (which he has translated) bears the impress of Shakespeare's hand, and even maintains it to be superior to the later version." — ELZE'S *William Shakespeare*, page 338.

The 'Famous Victories of Henry V.' was mentioned by Thomas Nash in his Pierce Penniless in 1592. It was entered at the Stationers' Hall, May 14, 1594, and printed for the first time (so far as we know) anonymously and in black-

letter type, in 1598. On the titlepage of this early quarto we are informed that it had been "acted by the Queen's players;" that is, between 1583 and 1593, the Queen's company having been in existence only between those dates. Tarleton, too, acted in it, and Tarleton died in 1588. A new version, entitled the 'Chronicle History of Henry V.,' still anonymous, but from the same press as before, appeared in 1600. It is significant that these two versions were the property of the same publisher, Thomas Pavier, and continued to be so until Pavier's death in 1626, when they were transferred by the widow to other persons. That they were of common origin, or, in other words, that they were both Shake-speare's, we have no particle of doubt. Indeed, the 'Famous Victories' is expressly declared to have been Shakespeare's in the dedication to Richard James's 'Legend and Defence of the noble Knight and Martyr, Sir John Oldcastle,' an unpublished MS., written in or about 1625, and now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.[1] A modern writer pronounces the earlier work the "product of a powerful but uncultivated mind;" he would have been more exact had he said, a powerful but immature mind.

The earliest intelligence we have of the great tragedy of 'King Lear' is in its entry for publication in the Stationers'

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[1] "A young lady of your acquaintance, having read the works of Shakespeare, made me this question: How Sir John Falstaffe . . . could be dead in Harrie the Fift's time and again live in the time of Harrie the Sixt to be banished for cowardice? Whereto I made answer . . . that in Shakespeare's first shewe of Harrie the Fift, the person with which he undertook to playe the buffone was not Falstaffe, but Sir John Oldcastle." — RICH. JAMES.

Dr. James was a man of high character and attainments, an Oxonian, clergyman, antiquary and critic. His testimony to the Shakespearean authorship of the 'Famous Victories of Henry V.' in which the fat knight is named Sir John Oldcastle, taken in connection with other facts given above, ought to settle the paternity of the early play at once and forever. Indeed, it leaves us no room to doubt the paternity also of the early drafts of 'King John,' 'King Leir,' and the 'Taming of the Shrew,' which scholars have heretofore so generally and persistently, as well as so blindly, attributed to some unknown playwright. That this is true of the 'early Hamlet' we have already given irrefragable evidence.

Register, May 14, 1594, name of author not given. No copy of the quarto, if then printed, is extant. It was produced on the stage by the Queen's company and that of the Earl of Sussex acting together to crowded houses. The play was entered again in 1605, and printed anonymously in the same year. Three years afterward it appeared a second time in print, with the name of "Shake-speare" on the titlepage and almost entirely rewritten, substantially in the form in which we now have it. The common authorship of the two versions is unmistakable. Of the former Mr. Lloyd, in his critical essay on this subject, says that Shake-speare "found gold on every page." It seems also to have furnished the germ of a speech put into the mouth of Bassanio in the 'Merchant of Venice.'

"The elder tragedy of 'King Leir' is simple and touching. There is one entire scene in it, the meeting of Cordelia with her father in the lonely forest, which, with Shakespeare's 'Lear' in my memory and heart, I could scarcely read with dry eyes."

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

"In reading this old drama [King Leir and his three daughters] every now and then there comes across us an incident, or a line, or a phrase that reminds us of Shakespeare's Lear." — FURNESS' *New Variorum Shakespeare*, v. 384.

One scene of the drama in its first draft seems to be worthy of special notice. The old king is returning from France with an army to reclaim his dominions. His unfilial daughters set a watch for him upon the shore. In the colloquy that follows among the watchmen, we have a singular, not to say suspicious repetition of the word *beacon* (then pronounced *bācon*),[1] fifteen times, together with

[1] This will appear from the numerous puns on words containing these two vowels in the literature of the time and especially in Shake-speare, as for example:

"Come you, sir, if justice cannot tame you, she shall ne'er weigh more *reasons* [raisins] in her balance." — *Much Ado*, v. 1.

the word *Bacon* itself twice, within the space of less than two pages.

"*Enter a Captain of the Watch and two watchmen.*

Cap. My honest friends, it is your turn to-night
To watch this place, near about the *Beacon,*
And vigilantly have regard,
If any fleet of ships pass hitherward:
Which if you do, your office is to fire
The *beacon* presently and raise the town. [*Exit.*

1 *Wat.* Aye, Aye, Aye, fear nothing; we know our charge, I warrant; I have been a watchman about this *Beacon* this thirty year, and yet I ne'er see it stir, but stood as quietly as might be.

2 *Wat.* Faith, neighbor, and you 'll follow my advice; instead of watching the *Beacon*, we 'll go to goodman Gennings' and watch a pot of ale and a rasher of *Bacon;* and if we do not drink ourselves drunk, then so; I warrant, the *Beacon* will see us when we come out again.

1 *Wat.* Aye, but how if somebody excuse us to the captain?

2 *Wat.* 'T is no matter; I 'll prove by good reason that we watch the *Beacon*, as for example.

1 *Wat.* I hope you do not call us by craft, neighbor.

2 *Wat.* No, no, but for example: say here stands the pot of ale, that 's the *Beacon.*

1 *Wat.* Aye, aye, 't is a very good *Beacon.*

2 *Wat.* Well, say here stands your nose, that 's the fire.

1 *Wat.* Indeed, I must confess, 't is somewhat red.

2 *Wat.* I see, come marching in a dish, half a score pieces of salt *Bacon.*

1 *Wat.* I understand your meaning; that 's as much to say, half a score of ships.

2 *Wat.* True, you conster right; presently, like a faithful watchman, I fire the *Beacon* and call up the town.

1 *Wat.* Aye, that 's as much as to say, you set your nose to the pot, and drink up the drink.

2 *Wat.* You are in the right; let 's go fire the *Beacon.* [*Exeunt.*

"Give you a *reason* on compulsion! if *reasons* were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a *reason* on compulsion." — *1 Henry IV.* ii. 4.

In the early days of the New England settlement, the name of the watch-tower in Boston and of the hill on which it stood was always pronounced *Bā̆con.*

Alarum, with men and women half naked; enter two Captains without doublets, with swords.

1 *Cap.* Where are these villains that were set to watch
And fire the *Beacon*, if occasion served,
That thus have suffer'd us to be surpris'd,
And never given notice to the town?
We are betray'd and quite devoid of hope,
By any means to fortify ourselves.

2 *Cap.* 'Tis ten to one the peasants are o'ercome with drink and sleep and so neglect their charge.

1 *Cap.* A whirlwind carry them quick to a whirlpool
That there the slaves may drink their bellies full.

2 *Cap.* This 't is, to have the *Beacon* so near the Ale-house.

Enter the watchmen drunk, each with a pot.

1 *Cap.* Out on ye, villains, whither run ye now?

1 *Wat.* To fire the town, and call up the *Beacon*.

2 *Wat.* No, no, sir, to fire the *Beacon*. [*He drinks.*

2 *Cap.* What, with a pot of ale, you drunken rogues?

1 *Cap.* You 'll fire the *Beacon* when the town is lost. I 'll teach you how to tend your office better.[1]

[*Draws to stab them.*"

As to the exact date when the dramatic instincts of the author first stirred within him and created these three boyish dramas, we are left wholly to conjecture. Certain considerations (to be mentioned later) indicate the years 1579–81.

"Are not Shakspere's early works incomplete, as compared with his later ones? Do not Chaucer's works follow his growth, begin poor, wax rich, and in old age turn poor again? What is Byron's earliest trash when compared with his later better poems?"

F. J. Furnivall.[2]

The following is a complete schedule of these early plays, with their respective approximate dates:

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[1] Our attention was first called to this significant play upon the word *beacon* by Samuel Cabot, Esq., a Shakespearean scholar of Boston, Mass.

[2] *New Shakspere Society's Transactions*, 1874, page 329.

King John [1]	
Henry V.[2]	1579–81.
King Lear [3]	
Pericles	1582.
Titus Andronicus	1583.
The Two Gentlemen of Verona	1584.
Hamlet	1586.
The Taming of the Shrew [4]	1586.
The Comedy of Errors	1587.
Love's Labor's Lost	1588.
King Henry VI., Part I.	1590–91.
King Henry VI., Part II.[5]	1591.
King Henry VI., Part III.[6]	1591–92.

In confirmation of this schedule as a whole, we are not without ample testimony from the author's contemporaries. In 1598, Francis Meres published a list of thirteen plays (seven tragedies, and six comedies) as Shakespeare's. He did not include 'Hamlet,' nor the three parts of 'King Henry VI.,' all of which were certainly then in existence. Indeed, he did not pretend to exhaust the whole catalogue; he was simply commending Shake-speare's merits as a writer, and in doing so he asked his readers to "witness," as he said, certain specimens that justified his eulogy. The phrase, *for example*, would have conveyed the same meaning. His statement is as follows:

"Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for comedy, witness his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Love's Labor's Lost, his Love's Labor's Won, his Midsummer Night's Dream, and his Merchant of Venice; for

[1] Under the title of The Troublesome Reign of King John.
[2] Under the title of The Famous Victories of Henry V.
[3] Under the title of King Leir and his Three Daughters.
[4] Under the title of The Taming of a Shrew.
[5] Under the title of The Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster.
[6] Under the title of The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York.

Tragedy, his Richard the Second, Richard the Third, Henry the Fourth, King John, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Juliet."[1] — MERES'S *Palladis Tamia*, 1598.

Here, then, we have evidence that previously to 1598, Shake-speare had composed seventeen, at least, of his dramas. If we add 'Pericles,' 'Henry V.,' 'King Lear,' and the 'Taming of a Shrew,' the total to that date will be twenty-one, considerably more than one half of all these works. The number in existence in 1594, on the same basis of calculation, could not have been less than fifteen, besides the two long poems of 'Venus and Adonis' and 'Lucrece.' In view of these facts is it credible that the author did not begin his dramatic career before 1592?

"In 1592, [he] had attained an eminent position, both as regards celebrity as well as pecuniary means, so that Robert Greene could quite well designate him as 'an absolute Johannes Factotum in his own conceit, the only Shake-scene in a country.' Shakespeare's career would appear almost miraculous, were it assumed that he attained such eminence in four or five years [preceding 1592]." — ELZE'S *William Shakespeare*, 115.

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[1] Richard Grant White, accounting for the omission of 'King Henry VI.' from Meres's list, very properly says:

"Meres did not profess to give a catalogue of Shakespeare's then existing plays. He but cited certain of them which occurred to him as justifying the high praise which he bestowed upon their author." — *Works of Shakespeare*, vii. 408.

Subsequently, however, when treating of the early 'Hamlet,' also omitted from Meres's list, he takes the opposite view:

"I regard this omission as strong negative evidence that Shakespeare had not at that time written his 'Hamlet.'" — *Ibid*, xi. 8.

The explanation of this inconsistency in Mr. White is obvious. 'Henry VI.' was written in 1589–91, and that date furnishes no presumptive evidence against the commonly accepted theory of authorship. But the production of the early 'Hamlet' carries us back to 1586, at which time, it seemed to him, the Stratford play-actor could not have been the author. The proof in behalf of 'Hamlet,' however, is far stronger than that for 'Henry VI.'; in fact, it defies controversy.

"There can be no doubt that Meres by no means reckoned all of the plays which Shakespeare had written at the time, but only mentioned the more important ones by way of example." — ELZE'S *William Shakespeare*, 299.

Professor Elze thinks we must go back to 1585, and perhaps (as he hints) to 1582, for the beginning of Shakespeare's dramatic career.

Furthermore, how can we explain, consistently with the commonly accepted theory on this subject, the numerous references to Shakspere as a reputed dramatist made by Greene, Nash, and Spenser in 1590, and, on the part of two of them, even before 1590, — references which show that several of these productions, popularly attributed to this author, had already become standard works on the London stage?

Greene began a pamphlet war against some one whom he did not name, but whom he regarded as a dangerous rival in the dramatic art, as early as 1587. That this rival was the reputed author of the Shake-speare plays we know only too well. The pamphlets in which the evidence appears are entitled as follows: 'Farewell to Folly,' 1587; 'Perimedes, the Blacksmith,' 1588; the 'Menaphon,' 1589; 'Never too Late,' 1590; and the 'Groatsworth of Wit,' 1592. One long strain of personal abuse runs through all these publications, culminating in that famous outburst of anger and jealousy in the 'Groatsworth of Wit' for which Chettle, as Greene's editor, has long but erroneously been supposed to have made an apology to Shakspere.

In the 'Farewell to Folly,' written in 1587, but not printed till 1591, Greene refers to an unletter'd clerk whose name is set to verses which he did not write. Some persons, he says, who —

"— for their calling and gravity being loth to have any profane pamphlets pass under their hand, get some other Batillus[1] to set his name to their verses. Thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokery. And he that cannot write true English without the help of clerks of parish churches will needs make himself the father of interludes." — GREENE'S *Farewell to Folly, registered June* 11, 1587.

[1] A noted Roman plagiarist in the time of Augustus.

On this Richard Simpson, an able orthodox Shakespearean, comments as follows:

"Greene, we see, here pretends that Shakspere could not have written the play himself. . . . So far from being the first dramatist, he is a dunce." — *School of Shakspere*, ii. 375, 379.

In 'Perimedes, the Blacksmith' (1588), Greene writes:

"Let me openly pocket up the ass at Diogenes' hand that wantonly set out such impious instances of intolerable poetry. . . . If there be any in England that set the end of scholarism in an English blank verse, I think either it is the humor of a novice that tickles them with self-love, or too much frequenting the hot-house (to use the German proverb) hath sweat out all the greater part of their wits."

The sneer in this passage at the use of English blank verse was directed at the author who had introduced blank verse on a large scale into English literature. That author was not Marlowe, as the critics say, but Shake-speare. Marlowe's first work, 'Tamberlaine,' was published in 1587, at which time, it would appear, not less than six of the Shakespeare dramas had already been written in this kind of verse, and two of them at least (the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona' and 'Hamlet') produced on the stage. In a word, the use of blank verse had ceased to be a novelty when Marlowe began to write. Greene thought its introduction a great blemish to the English drama, and he denounced Shake-speare accordingly.[1]

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[1] Strange to say, Richard Grant White caught a glimmering of this truth, but failed to note its important bearings. After quoting the above passage from the 'Perimedes,' he says:

"I believe, too, that it is to Shakespeare as well as to Marlowe that Greene alludes. . . . It seems to me that Shakespeare is the novice referred to, and Marlowe the debauchee. Both preferred blank verse to couplets."

Works of Shakespeare, vii. 467.

Here, even according to White, we find the author of the Shake-speare plays, however mistaken the identity, envied by Greene in 1588! And Greene had hitherto stood, in the estimation of the public as in his own, at the head of the profession.

The origin of the 'Menaphon' (1589) is thus stated by Mr. Simpson:

"The contest, we see, was becoming bitter; and it did not sweeten with time. Greene had fondly imagined that the cry went on him for the best playwright, but his pre-eminence was challenged; and when he found his rivals becoming more popular than he was, he wrote his 'Menaphon.'" — *The School of Shakspere*, ii. 353.

The butt of Greene's ridicule in this pamphlet is a tragedian, under the fictitious name of Doron (Gr. δορός=spear), whose speeches are simple clownery.

"Nothing more can be extracted from this," says Mr. Simpson, "than that Greene wished to represent his 'vain-glorious tragedian' as a boor and a clown. So, three years later, he classes 'Shakescene' among the 'peasants.'" — *School of Shakspere*, ii. 362.

The actor, thus ridiculed in the 'Menaphon,' is more virulently attacked under the name of Mullidor (Gr. Μύλλωδορός=Shakespear)[1] in 'Never too Late'(1590). There we have the following portraiture of him:

"A fellow that was of honest parents, but very poor, and his personage was as if he had been cast in Æsop's mould; his back like a lute, and his face like Thersites; his eyes broad and tawny; his hair harsh and curled like a horse-mane; his lips were of the largest size in folio. . . . The only good part that he had to grace his visage was his nose, and that was conqueror-like,[2] as beaked as an eagle. . . . Into his great head [Nature] put little wit."

Greene, however, does not rest the identification of his victim on mere country clownery, or on an appellative thinly veiled in Greek; he declares in the same pamphlet that his rival is "prank'd with the glory of others' feathers." This brings us directly to the "Groatsworth of Wit" (1592), where

[1] No term would have been too opprobrious for Greene's use in this connection. The repetition of the root *dor* in the nicknames fixes the meaning.

[2] Shakspere once called himself William the Conqueror, on an occasion referred to in Manningham's diary.

the same figure of speech is applied unmistakably to Shakspere, as follows:

"There is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers that, with his tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannesfac-totum*, is in his own conceit the only SHAKE-SCENE in a country."

All disguise is now thrown off. The unnamed dramatist who in 1587 "could not write true English without the help of clerks of parish churches," who in 1588 "set the end of scholarism in a blank verse," who in 1589 was "prank'd with the glory of others' feathers," and who in 1590 was nicknamed Mullidor [Shake-speare], finally became, in Greene's last outburst of jealousy and spite just before his death in 1592, the "only Shake-scene in a country." And to make the identification still more certain, the object of his hate is again charged, as in 1590, with being "beautified with others' feathers." Greene then warns his fellow-playwrights, Marlowe, Lodge (or Nash), and Peele, against this great colossus, whose tread was shaking the stage, and whose undoubted superiority they could not fail to acknowledge. Indeed, he advises them, in the presence of such a rival, to retire at once and forever from the dramatic profession.

Greene's indirect testimony to the pre-eminence of the author of Shake-speare, given previously to 1592, and previously, indeed, to 1587, is of the strongest character.

But Greene was not alone in his enmity. Thomas Nash, on his "commencing author" in London in 1589, made common cause with him against the same extraordinary, countrified, unlettered upstart. Nash even surpassed Greene in the virulence of his attacks. For instance, in his letter prefixed to Greene's 'Menaphon' and written undoubtedly in collusion with Greene, he complained of an "idiot art-master" as he called somebody prominent in dramatic circles, who had no university degree, whose education had stopped at a

grammar-school, and who was "outbraving better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank verse." He further accused this uneducated playwright of "translating two-penny pamphlets from the Italian, without any knowledge even of its articles, evidently meaning (as we have already pointed out) the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' the 'Taming of a Shrew,' and, perhaps, the 'Comedy of Errors,' of 1584, 1586, and 1587 respectively, the scenes of which are laid in Italy.

In the same year (1589) Nash published his 'Anatomy of Absurdity.' In this we find another bitter arraignment of the reputed author of the Shake-speare dramas. He says, under the thin disguise of the plural number:

"These buzzards think knowledge a burden, tapping it before they have tunde it, venting it before they have filled it, in whom that saying of the orator is verified, 'they come to speak before they know.' They contemn arts as unprofitable, contenting themselves with a little country grammar knowledge, thanking God with the abcedarie priest in Lincolnshire, that he never knew what that Romish, popish Latin meant."

Mr. Samuel Neil, in his 'Shakespere: a Critical Biography,' makes the following comment on the above:

"It is quite evident that Nash was here gnashing his teeth in spite at the achievements of a 'country grammar'-school scholar, then rising into fame. . . . Nash was an intimate of Robert Greene, Lodge, Marlowe, Peele, Maunday, and Chettle, who felt their reputation waning before this brighter light. It is held, therefore, with great probability that the above is a notice of Shakspere." — *Page* 24.

Elze quotes this passage in his 'William Shakespeare' and inquires, —

"At whom can this squib from the pen of a learned man and directed at a self-taught man from the country be aimed at, if not at Shakspere? . . . The passages in question do not, indeed, mention Shakspere by name, but describe him so unmis-

takably that there can be no doubt as to whom they refer."—*Pages* 141–142.

In 1591, Nash referred slightingly to the play of 'Hamlet,' especially to the soliloquy on Suicide and Doubt, as nothing but mere empty sound on a "paper drum." No other person than Shakspere has ever been suggested as the object of these diatribes.

Fortunately, however, we are not limited to blind calumniators for testimony to Shake-speare's eminence as a dramatist in the decade 1580–90. Spenser testifies to it in two of his poems, written in or about the years 1590–91, as follows:

> "And he, the man whom nature's self had made,
> To mock herself, and Truth to imitate,
> With kindly counter under mimic shade,
> Our pleasant Willy, ah! is dead of late."
>
> *The Tears of the Muses*, 1590.

Will was the familiar name by which Shakspere was known. Heywood notices it:

> "Mellifluous Shakespeare, whose enchanting quill
> Commanded mirth or passion, was but Will."
>
> *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, 1635.

The phrase "dead of late" means, of course, unproductive only.

> "And there, though last, not least, is Aetion,
> A gentler shepherd may nowhere be found,
> Whose Muse, full of high thoughts' invention,
> Doth, like himself, heroically sound."
>
> SPENSER'S *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, 1591.

As to the subject of these references, there can, it would seem, be no room for two opinions. The only poet or reputed poet, then living, whose Christian name was William, and whose patronymic had a martial sound, was William Shakspere. To have drawn from Spenser so high an encomium in 1590, the author of the plays, whoever he was, must have been deemed a man of genius, not to say (in popular opinion) at the head of the profession, several years prior thereto.

"When Spenser arrived in London in 1589, there can be little doubt that Shakespeare was already known and famous as a playwriter." — MORRIS' *Life and Works of Edmund Spenser.*

"We say advisedly that there is no absolute proof that Shakespeare had *not* written 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'The Comedy of Errors, 'Love's Labor's Lost,' 'The Taming of the Shrew,' and 'All's well,' amongst his comedies, before 1590; we believe that he alone merited the high praise of Spenser; that it was meant for him. We cannot doubt that —

> 'He, the man whom nature's self had made
> To mock herself and Truth to imitate,' —

was William Shakspere." — KNIGHT'S *William Shakespeare,* 347.

The efforts of the critics to break the force of Spenser's allusions to the reputed author of the Plays are among the chief curiosities of literary criticism.

We are now met by two important interrogatories, namely:

I. Was Shake-speare the sole author of these early plays?

II. Who, in fact, was the author of them, William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon, as his contemporaries seem to have unwillingly believed, or Francis Bacon?

I. Was Shake-speare the sole author of these early plays?

The playwrights who at one time or another have been credited with the honor of having assisted Shake-speare, or of having been assisted by him, in the composition of these works, are Greene, Nash, Lodge, Marlowe, Kyd, and Peele. Of these, Greene and Nash may be set aside at once; they were our author's persistent, uncompromising, bitter enemies. Lodge, too, is out of the question. Besides being Greene's boon companion, he had no dramatic gifts. Not a particle of evidence can be adduced to show either that he wrote or was capable of writing a line in the Shake-speare drama. All his attempts at composition for the stage were acknowledged failures. It is as a lyric poet only that he is entitled to remembrance. Marlowe's name is chiefly associated, so far as Shake-speare is concerned, with the 'Taming of the Shrew,'

both in its earlier and later forms. Nothing could be more preposterous than this assumption, for the play was published in its first imperfect draft several times during a full period of fourteen years after Marlowe's death, and its improved version not until 1623. Marlowe died in 1593. In the case of the second and third parts of 'King Henry VI.,' the authorship of which is sometimes assigned to Marlowe, the absurdity is still greater. Those plays continued to be printed in their original forms for a period of twenty-six years after Marlowe died, and were revised (as we shall show in the following chapter) by the author of them for the folio subsequently to 1619. No contemporary evidence of any kind whatever has been adduced to connect Marlowe with any of the Shake-speare dramas. The theory that Peele had anything to do with the early plays of Shake-speare does not deserve a moment's notice. It is merely the unsupported guess-work of critics, living three hundred years after those plays were produced and showing no aptitude for the task they have assumed. A still greater vagary is that relating to Kyd. Indeed, this whole structure of Shakespearean collaboration, reared with so much toilsome effort, is built on a singular misconception. It has always hitherto been believed that Greene's attack on the author, or reputed author, of Shake-speare was due to a sudden ebullition of feeling, and that ebullition in turn the result of jealousy over a play to which the two, Greene and Shake-speare, had jointly contributed. The quotation of a line from it in the 'Groatsworth of Wit' seemed to lend plausibility to this view. But we now know that Greene's outbreak in 1592 was not a sudden or isolated one; it was rather the culmination of a long series of similar outbreaks, covering a period of several years. Greene quoted from the 'True Tragedy' to identify, and he misquoted to ridicule, his antagonist. No one pretends that Shake-speare had any coadjutor in the composition of the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona' (1584), or 'Hamlet' (1586), or the 'Comedy

of Errors' (1587), or 'Love's Labor's Lost' (1588); why assume that he had, not one but three or four, as the commentators do, in the historical play of 'King Henry VI.,' one part of which was published in the folio for the first time, and the other two, in accordance with the author's well-known custom, only after extensive revisions?

"There is not the slightest contemporary hint that Shakespeare ever entered into the joint authorship of a play with any one else." — HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS'S *Outlines*, ii. 409.

"It is impossible to withhold from him the 'praise of being one of the great founders of our dramatic literature, instead of being the mere follower and improver of Marlowe, and Greene, and Peele, and Kyd.'" — KNIGHT'S *Shakespeare*, i. xliii.

II. Who, in fact, was the author, William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon, or Francis Bacon?

William Shakspere was born at Stratford-upon-Avon in March or April, 1564. His father, John Shakspere, is mentioned for the first time in the records of the town under date of 1552, soon after which (1557) he was elected a member of the corporation. During eleven years succeeding he seems to have risen uninterruptedly in the esteem and confidence of his fellow-townsmen, holding various public offices of gradually increasing responsibility, until in 1568 he became High Sheriff or Chief Magistrate of the borough. Then business reverses began to overtake him; and finally, in 1577, when his son William was thirteen years of age, deprived him altogether of whatever opportunities, beyond those afforded by the village grammar school, he may have contemplated or desired for the education of his children. Indeed, his financial affairs soon became so wretched that in 1578 he was exempted by name on the town records from a weekly levy of fourpence for relief of the poor; and in 1592 it is recorded of him that he failed to attend church, as required by law, "for fear of process" for debt.

"When the return was made in January that John Shakspere had no goods on which distraint could be made, there can be little doubt of the fact that he was keeping himself out of the way of the service of a process; and on March 29, when mention is made of his producing a writ of habeas corpus, we can conclude with tolerable certainty that he was in custody, or imprisoned for debt." — HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS'S *Life of William Shakespeare* (1848), page 47.

It is certain, then, that whatever education William Shakspere acquired during his boyhood and youth must have been acquired in the Free-School of his native village. To be sure, no record of his attendance there is extant, but the same may be said of every other event of his life from the date of his baptism, April 26, 1564, to that of his application for a marriage license, November 27, 1582. That is to say, for this entire period of eighteen years and seven months, the life of the reputed poet is to us an absolute blank. We have not even a tradition concerning his youth that can be traced back to a point of time nearer to it than one hundred and twenty-five years, nearer to it than the times of the great-great-grandchildren of his contemporaries. How much any tradition can be worth, handed down through four generations of people few of whom could read or write, we leave our readers to judge. Among these traditions, however, is one stated by Rowe in 1709, to which general credence has been given, namely: —

"His father, who was a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all, that, though he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment. He had bred him, 't is true, for some time at a free-school, where 't is probable he acquir'd the little Latin he was master of; but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forc'd his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language. Upon his leaving school, he seems to have given entirely into that way of living which his father propos'd to him."

Pupils were admitted into this Free-School, which combined the functions of primary and grammar, at the age of seven. Of the kind of instruction given there in Shakspere's time we have no direct knowledge. The school was so small in numbers and in every way so insignificant, probably with not more than ten or twelve pupils on its rolls at any one time, that it can hardly be said to have had a regular curriculum. We must therefore examine it by reflected light; that is, by comparison with other rural grammar-schools in England, which were contemporary with it and concerning which something is known. We may also judge of it by the kind and degree of education possessed by the community at large in which it was located. Under the first of these two heads Professor Baynes's Essays, originally published in 'Fraser's Magazine' and now presented to us in book form under the title of 'Shakespeare Studies,' must have attention. The apparent thoroughness and fidelity to truth with which Professor Baynes did his work have made a distinct impression upon scholars throughout the world. It is with no little pain, therefore, that we feel compelled to challenge the current estimate of his worth, and to take issue with him on nearly every important point in his treatment of this subject. Indeed, we need not travel beyond the authorities quoted by the essayist himself to show the singular falsity of his conclusions. These authorities are two in number, namely:

Brinsley's Ludus Literarius (1612);
Hoole's New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School (1659).

Brinsley wrote of the grammar-school at Ashby; Hoole, of the grammar-school at Rotherham. The two agree that in their respective schools (of which they were head-masters) the courses in the Latin Language and Latin Literature were very thorough, comprising the works of Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Cæsar, Tacitus, Juvenal, Terence, Horace, Seneca, Cato, and Plautus. It is on Hoole's book, though published nearly one

hundred years after Shakspere's school-time, however, that Professor Baynes lays his chief stress, on the ground that the school at Rotherham and the school at Stratford-upon-Avon were similar in their character, and that what was true of the one may safely be assumed to have been true of the other. He rests his entire argument on this alleged similarity. We quote from him as follows: —

"The grammar-school of Rotherham is of special interest from its close resemblance in history and general features to the grammar-school of Stratford-upon-Avon. . . . What these lines [of instruction in them] were, we know perfectly well in the case of Rotherham, as Hoole gives in detail the forms into which the school was divided, and the books that were used in each up to the time when he became head-master. And the schools of Rotherham and Stratford being alike in their general character, we may conclude with tolerable certainty that what was true of the one in this respect would also be true of the other." — *Shakespeare Studies*, 158, 161.

Rotherham was a famous intellectual centre. It possessed not only a grammar-school, but also a college. The enlightened archbishop, who in 1500 endowed these institutions, giving them an income of £2,000 (equivalent now to £24,000 or $120,000) per annum, also founded Lincoln College at Oxford, and secured in it special fellowships for such students as might enroll themselves there from Rotherham. The consequence was that young men flocked to Rotherham from all the surrounding country to avail themselves of these exceptional advantages. Some of the most eminent men of England were in their younger days pupils in the town, particularly in the grammar-school. The place thus early became, in the words of a local historian, a "renowned seat of learning, with the prestige of a glorious past," — the Andover or Harrow of the sixteenth century. To compare it with Stratford-upon-Avon, in the manner and for the purpose indicated by Baynes, is manifestly unjustifiable.

The inhabitants of Stratford-upon-Avon, numbering twelve or fifteen hundred in the time of Shakspere, were grossly

illiterate. There were few or no books in the community, because there were few or no people who were able to read them. Halliwell-Phillipps, who devoted thirty years of his life to the records of Stratford and vicinity, estimates the whole number of books then owned in the town "exclusive of bibles, Church Services, Psalters and educational manuals at no more than two or three dozen, if so many;" Richard Grant White puts it at a half-dozen only, outside of the school and the church. The books in the school were chained to the desks. In 1565, when William Shakspere was one year old, the aldermen and burgesses of the town had occasion to execute a public document which is still extant; six only of the nineteen signers could write their names; the others, thirteen out of nineteen, made marks. These, of course, were picked men, among whom the ratio of literacy must have been more favorable than it was in the community at large. It is probable that the entire number of persons then living in Stratford who could read and write did not exceed fifty.[1] In the life of David Garrick, who visited the town in 1769, the inhabitants are called "bumpkins" and "boors," and the town itself the "most dirty, unseemly, ill-paved and wretched-looking in all Britain." This was Garrick's own characterization of it. Any school, supported by such a community, must have been of the rudest and most elementary character. Walter Roche was the master for the two years, 1570–72; he spelled the name of the reputed poet's father, John Shaxbere. Roger Ascham tells us, writing under date of 1571, when William Shakspere was seven years old and is supposed to have been just entering the Stratford School,[2] that the teaching in such

[1] "The poet somehow or other," says Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, "was taught to read and write, the necessary preliminaries to admission into the Free School. There were few persons at that time at Stratford-on-Avon capable of initiating him even into these preparatory accomplishments." — *Outlines*, i. 38.

[2] No evidence exists that William Shakspere ever attended any school a day in his life. The nearest approach to it is in the statement, made by Rowe in 1709 (after a lapse of more than four generations), that Shakspere

schools throughout England at that time, outside of college towns, was "mere babblement and motions." He is our best authority on this subject.

The date of Shakspere's departure for London can be fixed within narrow limits. He was married in Stratford in 1582, had a child born to him there in 1583, and two children (twins) in 1585. On the other hand, he was lampooned in London as a masquerading dramatist, "who could not write true English without the aid of clerks of parish churches," by Robert Greene in 1587. It is practically certain, therefore, that in the latter part of 1585 or the early part of 1586 Shakspere left his home in Stratford "all but destitute," as Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps says, "of polished accomplishments," went to London, and at once secured some sort of position there in theatrical circles. But he could not have written 'Hamlet,' for that play, according to Thomas Nash, was on the boards in London, and probably in Cambridge also, in 1586; he could not have written the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' for that play was acted before the Queen in January, 1585; nor could he have written 'Titus Andronicus,' or 'Pericles,' or the 'Troublesome Reign of King John,' or the 'Famous Victories of Henry V.,' or 'King Leir and his Three Daughters,' all of which antedated the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' and were as replete with scientific, legal, and classical lore as any that were produced in the author's maturity.

We close this branch of our subject with a citation from the Commentaries of Gervinus, an author whom Professor Stapfer pronounces to be the ablest of all writers on Shakespeare, and whose book Dr. Furnivall, Founder and Director of

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was withdrawn from school at an early age to assist his father in business. Dowdall visited Stratford in 1693, and in a letter to a friend wrote that Shakspere "was formerly in this town apprenticed to a butcher, but that he ran away from his master to London." Dowdall's authority for this assertion was the parish clerk at Stratford, who, being then an old man, must have been acquainted with many of Shakspere's contemporaries and had trustworthy information on the subject. The clerk added, as a summary of Shakspere's character and achievements, "He was the best of his family."

the New Shakspere Society of London, commends as follows: "The profound and generous 'Commentaries' of Gervinus — an honour to a German to have written, a pleasure to an Englishman to read — is still the only book known to me that comes near the true treatment and the dignity of its subject, or can be put into the hands of the student who wants to know the mind of Shakspere." [1]

Our readers will bear in mind that nearly all the plays mentioned here by Gervinus, as well as some others not mentioned, were produced in London theatres either before William Shakspere had left his home in Stratford, in 1585–87, or immediately after his arrival there. Mr. Richard Simpson, a high Shaksperean authority, intimates that the reputed poet was then an "uneducated peasant;" and Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, the highest of all Shaksperean authorities, distinctly admits that he was "all but destitute of polished accomplishments." The latter was even forced to add that "scholastic learning was probably uncongenial to his tastes," and that "books in most parts of the country were then of rare occurrence." In the light of these admissions, which, indeed, cannot be successfully impugned, let us see what Professor Gervinus says of the early plays:

"All these plays exhibit the poet not far removed from school and its pursuits; in none of his later dramas does he plunge so deeply into the remembrances of antiquity, — his head overflowing with the images, legends, and characters of ancient history. In 'Titus,' as we have already shown, the whole story is composed from mere pieces of ancient legends and histories. Just as in Kyd's 'Spanish Tragedy' there are long passages from Latin poets, so here a stanza from an ode of Horace has been admitted. In 'Pericles,' as in one of Seneca's plays, we have the apparition of Diana, and scenes which strikingly remind us of Ulysses' visit to the Phœacians. In the 'Comedy of Errors' and the 'Taming of the Shrew' we have already pointed out the introductory address

[1] Introduction to 'Shakespeare Commentaries,' Professor Gervinus, London, 1892.

in Homer's style. Like 'Lucrece' and 'Venus,' these pieces are redundant with allusions to Greek mythology and ancient history. In these allusions the Trojan legend stands pre-eminent, and especially Virgil's view of it, as we find it in 'Lucrece.' In the passage where, in 'Henry VI.,' he alludes to Diomede and Ulysses, when they 'stole to Rhesus' tents and brought from thence the Thracian fatal steeds,' we perceive at once how freshly the young poet was imbued with Trojan history. The endeavour to display his learning is not foreign to these pieces, and is not uncharacteristic of a beginner. We will not adduce the First Part of 'Henry VI.' in evidence, because the greater part of it is attributed to another writer; otherwise we perceive in it great ostentation of study of the Old Testament, of Roman history, of the Romances of the Paladin, and even of Froissart's Chronicles. But in the Second and Third Part also, in Shakespeare's additions, the quotations from old myths and histories are multiplied; and the manner in which he at one time inserts Machiavelli in the place of Catiline, and at another time Bargulus instead of the pirate Abradas, shows that he purposely sought opportunity to display his own learning. But the 'Taming of the Shrew,' especially, may be compared with the First Part of 'Henry VI.' in the manifold ostentation of book-learning. The desire to betray a knowledge of language appears in no subsequent play of Shakespeare's, with the exception of 'Love's Labour's Lost,' in the manner in which it is exhibited in these seven; the scraps of foreign languages which he here uses in thorough earnestness are subsequently only employed as characteristics or in jest. In 'Titus' there are not only isolated Latin passages, as is the case with almost all the pre-Shakespeare poets, but French expressions also are introduced in tragic pathos; in 'Pericles' the devices of the knights are proclaimed in all languages, and among them there is a Spanish one with the error *più* for *mas*. In 'Henry VI.,' also, we meet with these scraps in passages which are Shakespeare's property; the old Clifford expires with a French sentence on his lips, the young Rutland with a Latin. In both comedies, moreover, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian words and sentences are accumulated. Thus we see that uncertain and immature forms, coarser taste in the choice of subject, and in the manner

of working it, the presence of school learning, the leaning to antiquity and to the learned circle of the Italian Romanticists of England, and eagerness to appear well read and full of knowledge were the familiar traits which distinguish these early productions of Shakespeare." — pp. 145–147.

Francis Bacon was born in London, January 22, 1561. He was son of Lord Chancellor Bacon. His mother was one of the famous daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. Francis was exceedingly precocious. When the Queen one day asked him his age, he made the felicitous reply, "Two years younger than your Majesty's happy reign." He was then nine years old. The inscription around Hilliard's portrait of him when he was seventeen — "O that I could but paint his mind" — indicates how he impressed others, even in his youth. "Every one who approached him," says his biographer Abbott, "acknowledged his remarkable powers." At twelve he entered Cambridge University, but did not remain to complete the course. His disgust with the system of philosophy taught there drove him out at the age of fifteen. He then spent three years on the continent, perfecting his knowledge of the French, Spanish, and Italian languages, and making himself familiar with the manners, customs, and institutions of the people of Southern Europe. Returning home in 1579, he was obliged, in consequence of the sudden death of his father, who had unfortunately made no provision for him, to begin at once the study of law at Gray's Inn. This he did very reluctantly, for he protested to his uncle, the Prime Minister of England, that he had other and vaster aims for his life. His whole soul, it seems, was turned towards literature, — a pursuit for which, as he afterwards claimed, he was better fitted by nature than for political affairs or for the active exercise of a profession.

In Gray's Inn, however, he had the society of the brightest wits of his time. Among the customs of the place was one into which we know that he threw himself with great

ardor. That was play-writing and play-acting. He was then eighteen years of age. Possessing a temperament so impressionable that he was affected at every eclipse of the moon, so fine an ear for metre that even his prose, says Shelley, sympathizes and blends with the "rhythm of universal nature," an imagination so poetic that, in the opinion of his most careful and judicious biographer, Mr. Spedding, it "might have carried him to a place among the great poets" of the world, he could hardly have failed, under the stimulus of his new environment, where so many of his companions were writing for the stage, to develop a taste for the drama. Indeed, he made himself so conspicuous in these recreations in Gray's Inn, that his mother, a woman of deep piety and of strong puritanical faith, became greatly distressed, begging him in her letters —

> "Not to mum, nor mask, nor sinfully revel."

It now remains for us to ask, — are there any anonymous dramas which we can trace back to the decade of 1580–90, dramas such as a youth, full of ambition for literary achievements, highly educated at home and abroad, familiar with ancient and modern literature, a law student, an accomplished linguist, a great wit, a poet *in posse*, would have been likely to compose at that time and under such circumstances at Gray's Inn? What were those dramas to which the envious Greene alluded in his 'Farewell to Folly' in 1587, as written by some one of "calling and gravity," who was unwilling to set his own name to his verses, but produced them under a pseudonym? Is it possible to imagine a series of works more exactly fitting the requirements of this case than those we have already enumerated; namely, 'The Famous Victories of Henry V.' (1579–81), 'The Troublesome Reign of King John' (1579–81), 'Pericles' (1582), 'Titus Andronicus' (1583), 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona' (1584), 'Hamlet' (1586), 'The Taming of the Shrew' (1586), 'The Comedy of Errors' (1587), 'Love's Labor's Lost'

(1588), and 'King Henry VI.' (1589–91)? Every one of these plays marks the immaturity of a commanding genius.[1] Every one was either anonymous, or was popularly attributed to a play-actor, who, as we learn from the criticisms of his contemporaries, had had only a grammar-school education, who possessed no knowledge of foreign languages, and who could not write true English without the help of parish clerks. Every one (with the sole exception of 'Pericles') was revised and admitted into the Shake-speare canon for permanent preservation in 1623, at precisely the same time when Bacon was revising and re-publishing his prose works for the same purpose.

In 1579, when this wonderful series of dramas, saturated with book-learning from the very first, began to appear, Francis Bacon, residing in London and possessing every qualification for the authorship of it, was eighteen years of age; William Shakspere, residing in Stratford-upon-Avon and possessing no qualifications for its authorship, was fifteen years of age.

[1] It must be remembered that the early 'Hamlet,' as published for the first time in 1603, is very inferior to the form in which it was subsequently cast by the author.

Chapter Three

THE LATE AUTHORSHIP OF SHAKE-SPEARE

IN discussing Shake-speare's early authorship, we drew the dividing line between the early plays and those written in the author's maturity, at the year 1592; we now fix upon 1616 to mark the beginning of the period of his late authorship. If it can be shown that one or more of the plays were written, wholly or in part, by the great dramatist subsequently to 1616, at which time William Shakspere of Stratford died, the question at issue, for all excepting those who claim a miracle in the premises, will be set at rest.

The first collective edition of Shake-speare was issued in 1623. The plays included in that edition number thirty-six. If we add 'Pericles,' published with the others in the third folio (1664), and now universally admitted to the canon, the whole number to be accounted for in the proposed line of investigation will be thirty-seven. Of these, two classes may be set aside at once as not available for our purpose; namely, —

I. Those that were printed previously to 1616 and that afterwards appeared in the folio without material modifications.

II. Those acted on the stage, entered in the Stationers' Register or mentioned by contemporaries, but not printed, previously to 1616, as to which we have no data to determine whether or not such plays were then completed.[1]

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[1] It is practically certain that many of these plays, as well as those that were printed in early quartos, underwent changes during the twenty years,

In the first class — that is, plays known from printed editions to have been written before 1616, substantially in the form in which we now have them — are the following, with the respective dates of first publication:

Romeo and Juliet	1597.
Love's Labor's Lost	1598.
1 Henry IV.	1598.
2 Henry IV.	1600.
Much Ado about Nothing	1600.
Merchant of Venice	1600.
Midsummer-Night's Dream	1600.
Troilus and Cressida	1609.
Pericles	1609.

In the second class, as specified above, we find thirteen, as per list subjoined, with dates and particulars of first mention:

The Two Gentlemen of Verona	1585, Revel's Account.[1]
1 Henry VI.	1591, Henslowe's Diary.
Comedy of Errors	1594, Acted at Gray's Inn.
All's Well that Ends Well	1598, Mentioned by Meres.[2]
As You Like It	1600, Stationers' Register.
Twelfth Night	1602, Mentioned by Manningham.
Measure for Measure	1603, *Circa*, Matthews's letter to Bacon.
Antony and Cleopatra	1608, Stationers' Register.
Macbeth	1610, Mentioned by Dr. Simon Forman.

more or less, that they were on the boards, before the publication of the Folio. Bacon is said to have rewritten his 'Essays' thirty times, and the *Novum Organum* twelve times, making important alterations each time. Indeed, he says: "I alter ever when I add, so that nothing is finished till all be finished." Lodge quotes the phrase, "Hamlet, revenge!" from the early 'Hamlet,' though it is not in the version as printed seven years afterwards. 'Twelfth Night' was acted February 2, 1601–2, but it contains an undoubted reference to Coke's brutal speech delivered at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1603.

[1] Under title of 'History of Felix and Philiomena.'

[2] Supposed to have been indicated under the title of 'Love's Labor's Won.'

Cymbeline	1610, Mentioned by Dr. Simon Forman.
Winter's Tale	1611, Mentioned by Dr. Simon Forman.
Julius Caesar	1613, In Accounts of Lord Treasurer Stanhope.
Tempest	1613, In Vertue's MSS.

We now come to the plays, fifteen in number, which afford materials for use in the present inquiry. These, with the exceptions of 'Coriolanus' and 'Othello,' plays that stand by themselves, may be divided as follows:

I. Those partially printed before 1616, but subsequently appearing, revised and enlarged, in the folio of 1623.

II. Those of which no record, of any kind whatever, previous to the issue of the 1623 folio, is extant.

Under the first head belong the following titles, with date of first quarto appended to each:

King John	1591.[1]
2 King Henry VI.	1594.[2]
The Taming of the Shrew	1594.[3]
3 King Henry VI.	1595.[4]
King Richard II.	1597.
King Richard III.	1597.
King Henry V.	1598.[5]
Titus Andronicus	1600.
Merry Wives of Windsor	1602.
Hamlet	1603.
King Lear	1608.

First printed in quarto, —

Othello	1622.

[1] Under the title of 'The Troublesome Reign of King John,' a product of the author's early youth.

[2] Under the title of 'The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster.'

[3] Under the title of 'The Taming of a Shrew.'

[4] Under the title of 'The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York.'

[5] Under the title of 'The Famous Victories of Henry V.,' the first sketch of the play made in the author's extreme youth.

Mentioned in Elegy to Richard Burbage in 1619, but printed for the first time in folio of 1623,[1] —

Coriolanus.

Under the second head we find two; namely, —

Timon of Athens, King Henry Eighth.

Let us now take the plays, named above under the first of these two heads, and examine them *seriatim*, reserving the two parts of 'King Henry VI.' and Richard III., however, for consideration at the close.

KING JOHN. This play in two parts was first published, anonymously, in 1591. It was mentioned as a Shakespearean production by Francis Meres in 1598. A second edition, combining the two parts in one volume, but making no important alterations in the play itself, appeared in 1611. The titlepage of this edition bears the plain statement, never controverted by a contemporary, "written by W. Sh." Eleven years afterwards — namely, in 1622 — came out a third edition similar in all respects to its predecessors, excepting that on its titlepage we now find the unmistakable ascription, "written by W. Shakespeare." Here, then, are three successive appearances in print of this early play, with an interval of thirty-one years between the first and the third, all attributed to the author we call "Shake-speare," and the last one printed six years after the reputed author's death at Stratford in 1616. And yet, in the folio of 1623, the play appeared as we now have it, with precisely the same action throughout as before, but under a new title, and, with the exception of a few lines, rewritten from end to end.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW. The first edition of this play came out anonymously in 1594, under the title of 'The Taming of a Shrew.' Two others followed, one in 1596 and the other in 1607, both still anonymous and under the same title as before. These editions were substantially alike.

[1] In this Elegy, written soon after Burbage's death, it is implied that sometime during his career he had acted the part of Marcius.

Henslowe's diary records a performance of 'The Taming of a Shrew' on the 11th of June, 1594, and on the next evening of 'Titus Andronicus.' Nothing more is heard of the comedy under any name for sixteen years thereafter, until 1623, when it made its appearance in the Shake-speare folio under a new title and with more than one thousand new lines introduced here and there into it throughout its entire length.

RICHARD II. This great play was first published anonymously in 1597. A second edition, substantially a reprint, but with the name of William Shake-speare as author on the titlepage, followed in 1598; a third, with the famous deposition scene added to it, in 1608; and a fourth, in 1615. The next appearance of the play in print was in the folio of 1623. In the latter are found some minor errors which had previously been peculiar to the quarto of 1615, and which prove beyond question that the editors of the folio based their version of 'Richard II.' on that quarto rather than upon either of the three that preceded.[1] In other words, the folio version was specially prepared for the press subsequently to 1615.

Furthermore, there are some additions to the play in the folio which conclusively show that this last version was the work of the dramatist himself. The following passage, with the additions referred to in italics, is submitted as proof:

> "Give me the glass, *and therein will I read.*
> No deeper wrinkles yet? Hath sorrow struck
> So many blows upon this face of mine
> And made no deeper wounds? Oh, flatt'ring glass,
> Like to my followers in prosperity,
> *Thou dost beguile me.* Was this *face*, the face
> That every day, under his house-hold roof,
> Did keep ten thousand men? *Was this the face*
> *That like the sun did make beholders wink?*
> Is this the face that fac'd so many follies,
> That was at last out-fac'd by Bolingbroke?" — iv. 1.

[1] "There is no doubt on this point; the quarto errors which have crept into the Folio text, and which prove its connection with the quarto version, are clearly traceable to quarto 4 [1615] as their immediate source." — F. J. FURNIVALL.

The reputed poet died at Stratford in the first month (as months were then computed) of 1616. He had then been a permanent resident of the town since 1604.

KING HENRY V. In 1598 appeared a play, printed in black-letter type, anonymously, under the title of 'The Famous Victories of Henry V.' This was beyond all reasonable doubt a product of the author's boyish days. It furnished the germs, not only for the great play of 'Henry V.,' as we now have it, but also for the two parts of the still greater play of 'King Henry IV.' Two years afterwards, the 'Chronicle History of King Henry V.,' also anonymous, coming from the same press that had just issued the 'Famous Victories' and almost entirely rewritten from the latter, made its appearance. A second edition of the 'Chronicle History' was published in 1602, and a third (both of them still without an author's name on the titlepage), in 1608. The changes made in these last two quartos were very slight. In the folio of 1623, however, we find this 'Chronicle History' not only enlarged from seventeen hundred and twenty-one to thirty-three hundred and seventy-six lines, but also at the same time converted by the marvellous witchery of the author's pen into one of the grandest historical dramas of the world's literature.

TITUS ANDRONICUS. The earliest extant edition of the 'Titus Andronicus' is the anonymous quarto of 1600. The second quarto, substantially unchanged from the first, bears date 1611. The third appearance of the play in print was in the folio of 1623, where an entire new scene (iii. 2), "agreeing too closely in style," say the Cambridge editors, "with the main portion of the play to allow of the supposition that it is due to a different author," is introduced.

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR. Of this comedy one edition only was printed previously to 1616. That was issued in 1602. A second, merely a reprint, appeared in 1619. In the folio of 1623, we have a new and greatly enlarged version, compared with which that of the quartos of

1602 and 1619 is but an imperfect sketch, with the number of lines increased from 1620 to 2701, and with numerous other emendations introduced throughout its entire length.

The quarto of 1619 was issued three years after the reputed author's death; the folio version, with all its additions and changes, four years later still.

HAMLET. This greatest of all dramas first saw the light in 1603. It had been known on the stage for seventeen years, at least, before that date.[1] The second edition was issued in 1604. This edition presents to us exactly the same state of things which we have found in the later history of so many others of the Shake-speare plays, — a revision so radical and in most respects so vastly improved as to make this form of the play almost an independent work. A third edition followed in 1605; a fourth, in 1611; a fifth, without date but evidently subsequent to 1611. The folio version differs in many important respects from that of the quartos, notably in its exclusion of two theories which up to that time had been enunciated in its successive predecessors; namely, one relating to the cause of the tides (repudiated by Bacon in his prose works in 1616 [2]), and the other to the principle of motion (also repudiated by Bacon in 1623 [3]). It seems impossible to regard these changes as having been made previously to 1616.

KING LEAR. The earliest editions of the perfected 'King Lear' are two quartos, both published in 1608. No other is known between this date and that of the folio. In the latter we find great alterations in the text, so great, indeed, that editors have been driven to the conjecture that this version was "printed from a different manuscript, and a better one, than was used for the quartos."

The adoption in the folio of a technical musical phrase, to illustrate a state of social and political discord,[4] would seem

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[1] See page 67 *et seq.*
[2] See page 18.
[3] See page 19.
[4] See page 21.

to limit the date of these alterations to a period between 1621 and 1623.

2 HENRY VI. This play was first given to the world, in quarto form, anonymously, under the title of 'The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster' in 1594. It then contained twenty-two hundred and fourteen lines. Six years afterward (1600), appeared a second edition. This also was anonymous, and a mere reprint of the first. In 1619 it appeared again, this time in conjunction with what, a few years later, became the third part of the same play, but under the combined title, 'The Whole Contention of the Two Famous Houses of Lancaster and York,' and with the additional information on the titlepage that it had been "newly corrected and enlarged." In this edition, as compared with the two preceding ones, we find many important changes, all of them, beyond doubt, from the dramatist's own hand. This was three years after the reputed author's death. In the folio of 1623, the play comes out a fourth time, not only with an entirely new title, but also with eleven hundred and thirty-nine lines entirely new added to it. Not only this, but also, in addition, out of the original number of lines (2214) in the old play as printed in 1619, nearly two thousand were retouched. Fortunately, we are not now left to conjecture, as we were in the analogous cases of 'King John' and several others, as to when this work was done. We know that it was done subsequently to the date of the last preceding quarto; that is, *subsequently to* 1619. A critical comparison of the successive editions will convince any candid reader that the edition of 1619 was a stepping-stone between those of 1594 and the folio of 1623. Let us trace some passages through them, and observe how the mind of the author worked successively from one to another in regular sequence.

KING HENRY VI. PART 2.

1594	1619 ("*Newly Corrected and Enlarged.*")	1623
This night, when I was laid in bed, I dreamt that This my staff, mine office badge in court, Was broke in two, and on the ends were placed The heads of the Cardinal of Winchester And William de la Poule, first duke of Suffolk.	This night, when I was laid in bed, I dreamt That this my staff, mine office badge in court, Was broke in twain, by whom I cannot guess; But as I think by the Cardinal. What it bodes God knows; and on the ends were placed The heads of Edmund, duke of Somerset, And William de la Poole, first duke of Suffolk.	Methought this staff, mine office badge in court, Was broke in twain; by whom I have forgot, But, as I think, it was by the Cardinal; And on the pieces of the broken wand Were plac'd the heads of Edmund, duke of Somerset, And William de la Poole, first duke of Suffolk. This was my dream; what it doth bode, God knows.
But ere it be long, I 'll go before them all, Despite of all that seek to cross me thus.	I 'll come after you, for I cannot go before, As long as Gloster bears this base and humble mind ; Were I a man, and Protector, as he is, I 'd reach to the Crown, or make some hop headless; And being a woman, I 'll not [be] behind For playing of my part, in spite of all that seek to cross me thus.	Follow I must; I cannot go before, While Gloster bears this base and humble mind; Were I a man, a duke, and next of blood, I would remove these tedious stumbling-blocks, And smooth my way upon their headless necks. And being a woman, I will not be slack To play my part in fortune's pageant.

KING HENRY VI. PART 2.

1594	1619 ("*Newly Corrected and Enlarged.*")	1623
He knows his master loves to be aloft; Faith, my lord, it is but a base mind That can soar no higher than a falcon's pitch.	They know their master soars a falcon's pitch; Faith, my lord, it 's but a base mind That can soar no higher than a falcon's pitch.	They know their master loves to be aloft, And bears his thoughts above the falcon's pitch. My lord, 't is but a base ignoble mind That mounts no higher than a bird can soar.
Edward the Third, my lords, had seven sons: The first, Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales; The second was Edmund of Langly, Duke of York; The third was Lionel, Duke of Clarence; The fourth was John of Gaunt; The Duke of Lancaster; The fifth was Roger Mortimer, Earl of March; The sixth was Sir Thomas Woodstock; William of Winsor was the seventh and last.	Edward the Third, my lords, had seven sons: The first, Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales; The second was William of Hatfield Who died young; The third was Lionel, Duke of Clarence; The fourth was John of Gaunt, The Duke of Lancaster; The fifth was Edmund of Langley, Duke of York; The sixth was William of Winsor, Who died young; The seventh and last was Sir Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of York.	Edward the Third, my lords, had seven sons; The first, Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales; The second, William of Hatfield; and the third Lionel, Duke of Clarence; next to whom Was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster; The fifth was Edmund Langley, Duke of York; The sixth was Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloster; William of Winsor was the seventh and last.

KING HENRY VI. PART 2.

1594

Now, Edward the Black Prince, he died before his father and left behind him Richard, that afterwards was king, crowned by the name of Richard the Second, and he died without an heir.

Edmund of Langly, Duke of York, died and left behind him two daughters, Anne and Elinor. Lionel, Duke of Clarence, died and left behind him Alice, Anne and Elinor, that was afterwards married to my father, and by her I claim the crown, as the true heir to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son to Edward the Third.

Now, sir, in the time of Richard's reign, Henry of Bolinbroke, son and heir to John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, fourth son to Edward the Third, he claimed the crown, deposed the mirthful king, and, as both you know, in Pomfret Castle harmless Richard was shamefully murdered. And so, by Richard's death came the House of Lancaster to the crown.

1619 ("*Newly Corrected and Enlarged.*")

Now Edward the Black Prince died before his father, leaving behind him two sons; Edward, born at Angolesme, who died young, and Richard, that was after crowned king by the name of Richard the Second, who died without an heir.

Lionel, Duke of Clarence, died, and left him one only daughter, named Phillip, who was married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, and so by her I claim the crown as the true heir to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son to Edward the Third.

Now, sir, in the time of Richard's reign, Henry of Bolinbroke, son and heir to John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, fourth son to Edward the Third, he claimed the crown, deposed the mirthful king, and, as both you know, in Pomfret Castle harmless Richard was shamefully murdered. And so, by Richard's death came the House of Lancaster to the crown.

1623

Edward the Black Prince died before his father,
And left behind him Richard, his only son,
Who, after Edward the Third's death, reign'd as king
Till Henry Bolinbroke, Duke of Lancaster,
The eldest son and heir of John of Gaunt,
Crown'd by the name of Henry the Fourth,
Seiz'd on the realm, depos'd the rightful king,
Sent his poor queen to France, from whence she came,
And him to Pomfret, where, as all you know,
Harmless Richard was murder'd traitorously.
Warwick. Father, the Duke hath told the truth;
Thus got the house of Lancaster the crown.
York. Which now they hold by force, and not by right,

KING HENRY VI. PART 2.

1594	1619 ("*Newly Corrected and Enlarged.*")	1623
Salisbury. Saving your tale, my lord, as I have heard, in the reign of Bolinbroke, the Duke of York did claim the crown, and but for Owen Glendor had been king.	*Salisbury.* Saving your tale, my lord, as I have heard, in the reign of Bolinbroke, the Duke of York did claim the crown, and but for Owen Glendor had been king.	For Richard, the first son's heir, being dead, The issue of the next son should have reigned. *Salisbury.* But William of Hatfield died without an heir.
York. True, but so it fortuned then, by means of that monstrous rebel Glendor, the noble Duke of York was done to death, and so, ever since, the heirs of ∞ John of Gaunt have possessed the crown. But if the issue of the elder should succeed before the issue of the younger, then I am lawful heir unto the kingdom.	*York.* True, but so it fortuned then, by means of that monstrous rebel Glendor, the noble duke was done to death, and so, ever since, the heirs of John of Gaunt have possessed the crown. But if the issue of the elder should succeed before the issue of the younger, then I am lawful heir unto the kingdom.	*York.* The third son, Duke of Clarence, From whose line I claim the crown, Had issue Phillip, a daughter, Who married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March; Edmund had issue, Roger, Earl of March; Roger had issue, Edmund, Anne and Elinor. *Salisbury.* This Edmund, in the reign of Bolinbroke, As I have read, laid claim unto the crown, And but for Owen Glendour, had been king; Who kept him in captivity, till he died. But-to the rest.

KING HENRY VI. PART 2.

1594	1619 (*"Newly Corrected and Enlarged."*)	1623
		York. His eldest sister, Anne, My mother, being heir unto the crown, Married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Who was to Edmund Langly Edward the Third's first son's son; By her I claim the kingdom. She was heir to Roger, Earl of March, Who was the son of Edmund Mortimer, Who married Phillip, sole daughter Unto Lionel, Duke of Clarence. So, if the issue of the elder son Succeed before the younger, I am king.

Perhaps the proof of a continuous development in the above passages may be more clearly exhibited in a series of brief parallelisms, extracted from them, thus:

KING HENRY VI. PART 2.

1594	1619 (*"Newly Corrected and Enlarged."*)	1623
Was broke in two.	Was broke in twain.	Was broke in twain.
	By whom I cannot guess.	By whom I have forgot.
And on the ends were placed The heads of the Cardinal of Winchester	And on the ends were placed The heads of Edmund, duke of Somerset,	And on the pieces of the broken wand Were placed the heads of Edmund, duke of Somerset,

KING HENRY VI. PART 2.

1594	1619 (*"Newly Corrected and Enlarged."*)	1623
And William de la Poule, first Duke of Suffolk.	And William de la Poole, first duke of Suffolk.	And William de la Poole, first duke of Suffolk.
I 'll go before them all	I 'll come after, for I cannot go before.	Follow I must; I cannot go before.
	Were I a man, and Protector as he is, I 'd reach the crown, or make some hop headless.	Were I a man, a duke and next of blood, I would remove these tedious stumbling-blocks, And smooth my way upon their headless necks.
	And being a woman, I 'll not be behind For playing of my part.	And, being a woman, I will not be slack To play my part in fortune's pageant.
Despite of all that seek to cross me thus.	In spite of all who seek to cross me thus.	I would remove these tedious stumbling-blocks.
The second was Edmund of Langly.	The second was William of Hatfield.	The second, William of Hatfield.
The fifth was Roger Mortimer.	The fifth was Edmund of Langley.	The fifth was Edmund Langley.
Lionel, duke of Clarence, died, and left behind Alice, Anne and Elinor, that was afterwards married to my father.	Lionel, duke of Clarence, died, and left one only daughter, named Phillip, who was married to Edmund Mortimer.	The third son, duke of Clarence, had issue Phillip, a daughter, who married Edmund Mortimer.

The corrections found in the quarto of 1619, said by the publisher (on the titlepage) to be "new," would seem to have been made within at least three years of date of publication, or subsequently to 1616; those of 1623 are undoubtedly of date subsequent to 1619.

The only attempt, worthy of notice, to reconcile these successive alterations with the commonly accepted theory of authorship is found in Dr. Furnivall's Introduction to the *fac-simile* edition of the play, in which this well-known critic says that the changes are "such as may have been made by a reviser who had the Folio play with a copy of Q^1 or Q^2 in his hand, or who had the chance of taking a note or two from the Burbage-playhouse copy, and then made further independent corrections at home!"

3 Henry VI. The history of the third part of 'King Henry VI.' is very similar to that of the second part, already given. The play was first published in 1595, under the title of 'The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York.' It then consisted of twenty-three hundred and eleven lines. A second edition, with title and text substantially unchanged, appeared in 1600. The same is true also of the third edition issued in 1619, except that it was then printed in connection with the first part, under the combined title of 'The Whole Contention between the Two Famous Houses, Lancaster and York.' Four years later, it came out in the folio enlarged nearly fifty per cent; that is, with the number of lines carried from twenty-three hundred and eleven to thirty-two hundred and seventeen, and all apparently fresh from the hand of the master.

Othello. 'Othello' was not printed in any form during the lifetime of the reputed author; it first came from the press in quarto in 1622, six years after Shakspere's death at Stratford, and one year only before it appeared in the folio. And yet in the latter we are confronted not only with one hundred and sixty new lines, but also with numerous and important emendations, here and there, throughout the text.[1]

[1] See page 45.

KING RICHARD III. 'Richard III.' was first published anonymously in 1597. In the following year a second edition appeared, ascribed on the titlepage to William Shakespeare. Then followed a third edition in 1602; a fourth, in 1605; a fifth, in 1612; and a sixth, in 1622. The changes made in these successive editions were not important; but when the folio appeared in 1623, some very marked improvements had been effected in the text. Mr. Richard Grant White says that these additions and corrections are "undeniable evidence that the copy in question had been subjected to carefullest revision at the hands (it seems to me beyond a doubt) of Shakespeare himself, by which it gained much smoothness and correctness and lost no strength. In minute beauties of rhythm, in choice of epithets, and in the avoidance of bald repetition, the play was greatly improved by this revision," and was "evidently from the perfecting hand of the author in the maturity of his powers."

The Cambridge editor, Mr. W. A. Wright, also testifies to the same effect:

> "Passages which in the quarto are complete and consecutive are amplified in the folio, the expanded text being quite in the manner of Shakespeare. The folio, too, contains passages not in the quartos, which, though not necessary to the sense, yet harmonize so well, in sense and tone, with the context, that we can have no hesitation in attributing them to the author himself."

The reappearance, in the folio version, of twelve printer's errors that were peculiar to the quarto of 1622 is conclusive proof that the latter was in existence when these additions were made to the text. In other words, the changes in the play, comprising one hundred and ninety-three new lines and nearly two thousand retouched, were made by the author himself in 1622–23.

We summarize these statistics as follows:

Date of last Quarto before Publication of 1623 *Folio.*		*Changes made in the Folio of* 1623, *subsequently to date of last Quarto.*
Taming of the Shrew,	1607.[1]	New title; 1000 new lines added; extensively rewritten.
King Lear	1608.	88 new lines added; 119 retouched.
Henry V.	1608.	New title; the choruses and two new scenes added; text nearly doubled in length.
Troilus and Cressida	1609.	New title; prologue inserted.
Titus Andronicus .	1611.	One entire new scene added.
Hamlet	1611.[2]	Important additions and omissions.
Richard II. . . .	1615.	Corrections throughout; version based directly on last quarto.
Merry Wives . . .	1619.[3]	1081 new lines added; text rewritten.
Henry VI. Part 2 .	1619.[3]	New title; 1139 new lines added; 2000 old retouched; version based directly on last quarto.
Henry VI. Part 3 .	1619.[3]	New title; 906 new lines added; many old retouched.
King John . . .	1622.[4]	New title; 1000 new lines added, including one entire new scene; whole dialogue rewritten.
Richard III. . . .	1622.[4]	193 new lines added; nearly 2000 retouched; version based directly on last quarto.
Othello	1622.[4]	160 new lines added; other important emendations throughout the text.

The hypothesis of the commentators that all this new work on thirteen of the Shakespearean dramas (some of them becoming practically new compositions in the process) was secretly left in manuscript by the reputed author at his death in 1616, unknown even to the publishers of his writings for a period of seven years subsequent thereto, would not be tolerated under similar circumstances in other fields of criticism for a single moment. Indeed, in the case

[1] Three years after Shakspere's permanent retirement to Stratford.
[2] An undated quarto, issued subsequently to 1611.
[3] Three years after Shakspere's death at Stratford.
[4] Six years after Shakspere's death at Stratford.

of several of them, the author, if he died in 1616, must have left behind him, unpublished, two manuscript copies of each, both being successive improvements on earlier editions, and the less perfect one of the two in every instance printed first.

Mirabeau, who was very fat, was fond of saying that his mission in life was to test the elasticity of the human skin; the mission of our friends, the Shakspereans, would seem to be to test the elasticity of human credulity.

Chapter Four

THE PLACE OF THE SHAKE-SPEARE DRAMAS IN BACON'S SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHY

FRANCIS BACON died April 9, 1626. In his last will he made disposition of his unpublished writings as follows: —

"I desire my executors, especially my brother Constable and also Mr. Bosvile, presently after my decease, to take into their hands all my papers whatsoever, which are either in cabinets, boxes, or presses, and them to seal up till they may at their leisure peruse them."

Some time after Bacon's death (probably in 1627), in accordance with this provision of the will, Mr. Bosvile, or (as he is better known) Sir William Boswell, British Minister to Holland, having possession of the manuscripts, carried them with him to the Hague, and there committed them to his learned friend, Isaac Gruter, for publication. Gruter took the matter in hand, but determined first of all to reissue for Continental readers the works of Bacon which had previously been printed in England. Accordingly, in anticipation of his work on the manuscripts, he edited and published the following: —

Sapientia Veterum,	Leyden	1633
Historia Ventorum	"	1638
Essays	"	1641
"	"	1644
Novum Organum	"	1645
De Augmentis	"	1645
History of Henry VII.	"	1647

Sylva Sylvarum,	Leyden	1648
New Atlantis	"	1648
Novum Organum	"	1650
De Augmentis	"	1652

In 1653 Gruter finally gave to the world, in a book printed at Amsterdam and entitled *Francisci Baconi de Verulamio Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia,* nineteen of the manuscripts with which he had been intrusted by Boswell. In an 'Address to the Reader,' prefixed to the volume, he tells us that he and Boswell had had many long, confidential interviews on the subject, in consequence of which, as it appears, some of the papers in the collection were, for reasons not given, withheld from the public. The exact statement is as follows: —

"All these hitherto unpublished writings you owe, dear reader, to the most noble William Boswell, to whom they were devised by Bacon himself, together with others of a political and moral nature, which are now, by gift of the deceased, in my private keeping, and which ought not to be long suppressed."[1]

That Gruter regarded these reserved papers, whatever they were, as important, and that he was compelled against his will to keep them back in the dark, we know beyond a doubt; for on March 20, 1655, he wrote to Sir William Rawley, Bacon's old chaplain and amanuensis in London, a letter in which he expressed great impatience because he was not permitted to publish them. He said: —

"At present I will restrain my impatient desires, in hope of seeing some day those things which, now committed to faithful privacy, await the time when they may safely see the light and not be stifled in their birth."[2]

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[1] For a copy of Gruter's 'Address to the Reader,' in the original Latin, with the sentence translated above, in italic, see Appendix A.

[2] We give this sentence in Latin also, as Gruter wrote it: *Nunc vota impatientis desiderii sustentabo spe aliquando videndi, quæ fidis mandata latebris occasionem expectant ut tuto in lucem educantur, non enecentur suffocato partu.*

What was the nature of that secret? What was discovered among Bacon's private papers after his death, which his executors were unwilling, but which Isaac Gruter, the last-known custodian of the papers, was impatient, to make public?[1]

The fact that there did exist a secret of some kind in Bacon's literary work can easily be proved. It is fully recognized in Spedding, Ellis, and Heath's standard edition of Bacon's Works, published in 1857. Mr. Ellis discusses the question in his preface to the *Novum Organum.* He assumes that Bacon, having discovered a new philosophical method, determined, in accordance with the spirit of the Middle Ages, to "veil it in an abrupt and obscure style," for the reason that, "like a concealed treasure, its value would be decreased if others were allowed to share in it." No serious refutation of such an absurdity can be needed. Mr. Spedding himself repudiates it, declaring it to be "irreconcilable both with the objects which he [Bacon] had in view, and with the spirit in which he appears to have pursued them." He admits the existence of what he calls a "great secret" in Bacon's philosophy;[2] but he also admits, after thirty years of unremitting study of the subject, his own inability to solve the problem in a manner satisfactory even to himself. "It is a question," he allows Mr. Ellis, his associate, to say without a protest, "to which every fresh inquirer gives a fresh answer." Indeed, it has been this very mystery under every kind of treatment down to the present time that has led editors and commentators of Bacon's philosophical system to pronounce the system itself a failure.[3]

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[1] The terms in which the secret is referred to by Gruter effectually negatives any supposition that it had to do with personal criticisms of Bacon's contemporaries.

[2] "The great secret which he had, or thought he had, in his keeping." —SPEDDING'S *Edition of Bacon's Works*, ii. 27.

[3] "Very few of those who have spoken of Bacon have understood his

The truth is, Bacon divided his scheme into two parts, with an entirely distinct, peculiar, and original method for each. For the first part, his method consists in making an exhaustive compilation of the phenomena of nature, and in classifying them on the basis of the fundamental properties that are common to one another. He sought to accomplish for the entire universe what Linnæus subsequently did for plants and Cuvier for animals; that is, to arrange observed facts into allied groups, and by a series of exclusions to arrive finally at a knowledge of the elementary principles that underlie all things. In this way he thought he could reduce what appears to be endless complexity into an alphabet, and thus enable mankind by new combinations of causes to acquire that absolute control over nature which, he was fond of asserting, it had once possessed and lost. This method, however, though the most ambitious that ever entered into the mind of man to conceive, was no secret. It is emblazoned on every page of Bacon's works.

The secret is in the other branch of the system, — the branch that has to do with the delivery of knowledge to the world. It is somewhat obscurely referred to in one of the paragraphs of the *De Augmentis*, as follows:

"There is another method of Delivery, similar in its object to the one already described, but in reality almost the reverse. Both methods agree in aiming to separate the dull among the auditors from the select; but they vary in this, — that one makes use of a way of delivery more open, the other a way of delivery more secret. Let one be distinguished as the Exoteric method, the other (of

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method." — ELLIS, SPEDDING, *and* HEATH'S *Edition of Bacon's Works*, i. 150 (Boston).

"It becomes impossible to justify or to understand Bacon's assertion that his method was essentially new." — *Ibid.*, i. 65.

Mr. Spedding's personal confession of ignorance on this important point may well astonish us: "[Of] his [Bacon's] peculiar system of philosophy . . . we can make nothing. We regard it as a curious piece of machinery, very subtle, elaborate, and ingenious, but not worth constructing" (v. 419).

which I am going to speak) as the Acroamatic, — a distinction observed by the ancients chiefly in the publication of books, but which I transfer to the method of delivery itself. The ancients used it with judgment and discretion; but in later times it has been disgraced by many who have made it as a false and deceitful light, in which to put forward their counterfeit merchandise. The intention, however, seems to be by obscurity of delivery to exclude the vulgar (that is, the profane vulgar) from the secrets of knowledge, and to admit those persons only who have received the interpretation of the enigmas through the hands of teachers, or have wits of such sharpness and discernment that they can of themselves pierce the veil."[1]

The fair interpretation to be given to the above is this: Ancient philosophers were accustomed to divide their doctrines into two classes; namely: the exoteric, which they freely published to the world, and the esoteric, or acroamatic, which they did not publish at all, but which they reserved in private for their disciples. Bacon, having no disciples, says in effect:

I intend to preserve the same distinction as the ancients did, but I shall apply it differently. I shall publish my philosophy by two different methods simultaneously, — one in a book or set of books openly for all, and another in a book or set of books enigmatically for a few, or (to use his own words) for those only who have or may have in the future "sufficient sharpness or discernment to pierce the veil."

In corroboration of this view, we quote, in the first place, a passage from Bacon's *Temporis Partus Masculus*, in which this very mode of delivering knowledge enigmatically is treated thus:

"By this mode, the most legitimate of all, my son, I may perhaps extend the now deplorably narrow limits of man's dominion over nature to the utmost bounds. 'But what,' you will ask, 'is this legitimate mode?' I hear you say to me, 'Lay aside artifice

[1] For the original Latin, see Appendix B.

and circumlocution, and explain your design just as it is, that I may be able to form a judgment on it for myself.' I would, my dearest son, that matters were in such a state with you as to render this possible. Do you suppose that when the entrances to the minds of all men are obstructed with the darkest errors — and those deep-seated and, as it were, burnt-in — smooth, even spaces can be found in those minds, so that the light of truth can be accurately reflected from them? A new process must be instituted, by which we may insinuate ourselves into natures so disordered and closed up. For, as the delusions of the insane are removed by art and ingenuity, but aggravated by opposition and violence, so must we choose methods here that are adapted to the general insanity. Indeed, it is sufficient if my method of delivery in question be ingenuous, if it afford no occasion for error, if it conciliate belief, if it repel the injuries of time, and if it be suited to proper and reasonable readers. Whether it have these qualities or not, I appeal to the future to show."[1]

Here, then, is Bacon's own description in general terms of one of the two methods, the secret one, adopted by him for communicating his philosophy to the public. He expressly declines to go into particulars in regard to it, to tell exactly what it is, to what kind of writing it will be applied, or whether or not he will put his name to it. We know that by means of it he expected his ideas to steal into men's minds almost imperceptibly, certainly without opposition, and that the full effect of the literature, so produced, would be felt, not at the time in which he wrote, but in after ages.[2] This repugnance to anything like contention in the work of reform was perhaps the leading trait in Bacon's personal character. He often referred, with great enthusiasm, to the

[1] For the original Latin, see Appendix C.

[2] "The fruits which he anticipated from his philosophy were not only intended for the benefit of all mankind, but were to be gathered in another generation." — SPEDDING, ELLIS, and HEATH'S *Edition of Bacon's Works*, i. 188.

On this point Bacon himself says: "It may truly be objected to me that my philosophy will require an age, a whole age, to commend it, and very many ages thoroughly to establish it." — *De Augmentis.*

witty saying of Pope Alexander about Charles VIII.'s unresisted invasion of Italy, — that the "conqueror came with chalk in his hands to mark up lodging-places for his soldiers, rather than with arms to force his way in." If we would understand Bacon, we must constantly bear in mind that this was the method by which he sought to conquer the intellectual world.[1] On this point he himself says:

"In the old times, when the inventions and conclusions of human reason (even those that are now trite and vulgar) were as yet new and strange, the world was full of all kinds of fables, and enigmas, and parables, and similitudes; and these were used not as a device for shadowing and concealing the meaning, but as a method of making it understood; the understandings of men being then rude and impatient of all subtleties that did not address themselves to the sense. . . . For, as hieroglyphics came before letters, so parables came before arguments. And even now, if any one wish to let new light on any subject into men's minds, and that without offence or harshness, he must still go the same way and call in the aid of similitudes." — *Preface to De Sapientiâ Veterum.*

We now come to what has been for us, and we think it will also be for our readers, a startling revelation. Among Bacon's manuscript papers published for the first time by Gruter in 1653, twenty-seven years after Bacon's death, was one entitled *Cogitata et Visa.* It contains a rapid sketch of the author's philosophical system, as then in process of development, and particularly (in the last paragraph) of the secret or enigmatical kind of writing in which an important part of that system was to be embodied. It appears, however, that in this latter and most interesting section Gruter omitted two very significant passages. No notice of the

[1] "As Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French to Naples, 'that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, but not with weapons to break in,' so I like better that entry of truth which comes peaceably, as with chalk to mark up these minds which are capable of lodging and harboring such a guest, than that which forces its way with pugnacity and contention." — *De Augmentis.*

omissions is given in his book. Indeed, so cleverly was the work of mutilation performed that for a period of two hundred and four years succeeding no suspicion of it was excited in any quarter, though in the interval the paper was translated several times from the original Latin into English and French, precisely as Gruter had printed it. Some time before 1857, however, Mr. Spedding found another manuscript copy of the *Cogitata* in the library of the Queen's College at Oxford; and, as this was also undoubtedly genuine, having been corrected here and there by Bacon himself, he wisely concluded to follow this copy, instead of Gruter's printed form, in the edition he was then preparing for the press. It was when these two publications were compared together that the said discrepancies, now for the first time critically examined, became known. Evidently, Mr. Ellis had no knowledge whatever of them,[1] and Mr. Spedding no practical appreciation of their importance, the former quoting freely from the immediate context (undoubtedly from Gruter's copy, before the Oxford manuscript was discovered), and the latter declaring (apparently on the most cursory examination) that the "differences are immaterial." It is hard to understand, except on the suppositions which we have ventured to suggest in parentheses, why these editors did not find herein an additional significance in Bacon's "secret," which, even in their blindness, they yet describe as a "new sun before which the 'borrowed beams of moon and stars' were to fade away and disappear."

We now offer a translation of the entire paragraph, as printed by Messrs. Ellis, Spedding, and Heath, with the omitted passages (never before translated into English) in italics:

"He [Bacon] thought, also, that what he has in hand is not mere theory, but a practical undertaking. It lays the foundations, not of any sect or dogma, but of a great and far-reaching benefit

[1] Mr. Ellis was forced by ill health to retire from the work of the editorship in 1852.

to mankind. Therefore, attention must be given, not only to the perfection of the matter, but also (and this is of equal importance) to the communication of it to others. But he has observed that men minister to their love of fame and pomp sometimes by publishing and sometimes by concealing the knowledge of things which they think they have acquired, particularly those who offer unsound doctrines, which they do in a scanty light, that they may more easily satisfy their vanity. He thought, however, that, while his subject is one that ought not to be tainted with personal ambition or desire of glory, still (unless he were a mere tyro, not knowing the ways of the world and without foresight) he must remember that inveterate errors, like the ravings of lunatics, are overcome by ingenuity and tact, but aggravated by violence and opposition. We must therefore use prudence, and humor people (as far as we can with simplicity and candor), in order that contradictions may be extinguished before they become inflamed. To this end he is preparing a work on Nature and on the Interpretation of Nature, to abolish errors with the least asperity, and to affect the minds of men without disturbing them. And this he can do the more easily because he will not offer himself as a leader, but will so spread abroad the light of nature that no leader will be needed. But, as time meanwhile glides away, and he has been engaged in civil affairs more than he wished, it seemed to be a long work, — especially considering the uncertainty of life and his own impatient desire to make something secure. Therefore, it has appeared to him that a simpler method might be adopted, which, though not set forth to the multitude, might yet prevent so important a matter from being prematurely lost. So he thought best, after long considering the subject and weighing it carefully, first of all to prepare *Tabulæ Inveniendi*, or regular forms of inquiry; in other words, a mass of particulars arranged for the understanding, and to serve, as it were, for an example and almost visible representation of the matter. For nothing else can be devised that would place in a clearer light what is true and what is false, or show more plainly that what is presented is more than words, and must be avoided by any one who either has no confidence in his own scheme or may wish to have his scheme taken for more than it is worth.

"*But when these Tabulæ Inveniendi have been put forth and seen, he does not doubt that the more timid wits will shrink almost in despair from imitating them with similar productions with other materials or on other subjects; and they will take so much delight in the specimen given that they will miss the precepts in it. Still, many persons will be led to inquire into the real meaning and highest use of these writings, and to find the key to their interpretation, and thus more ardently desire, in some degree at least, to acquire the new aspect of nature which such a key will reveal. But he intends, yielding neither to his own personal aspirations nor to the wishes of others, but keeping steadily in view the success of his undertaking, having shared these writings with some, to withhold the rest until the treatise intended for the people shall be published.*

"Nevertheless, he anticipates that some persons of higher and more exalted genius, taking a hint from what they observe, will without more aid apprehend and master the others of themselves. For he is almost of the opinion (as some one has said) that this will be enough for the wise, while more will not be enough for the dull. *He will therefore intermit no part of his undertaking.* At the same time he saw that, *so far as these writings are concerned*, to begin his teaching directly with them would be too abrupt. Something suitable ought to be said by way of preface, and this in the foregoing he thinks he has now done.

"*Besides, he does not wish to conceal this or to impose any rigid forms of inquiry upon men (after the manner now in vogue in the arts); but he is assured that, when these productions have all been tested after long use and (as he thinks) with some judgment, this form of investigation, thus proved and exhibited by him, will be found the truest and most useful. Still, he would not hinder those who have more leisure than he has or who are free from the special difficulties which always beset the pioneer or who are of a more powerful and sublime genius from improving on it; for he finds in his own experience that the art of inventing grows by invention itself.*

"Finally, it has seemed to him that, if any good be found in what has been or shall be set forth, it should be dedicated as the fat of the sacrifice to God, and to men in God's likeness who procure the welfare of mankind by benevolence and true affection." [1]

[1] For the original Latin, see Appendix D.

In this description, written by Bacon (evidently under some kind of restraint) in or about 1608, of his acroamatic or enigmatical writings, we note the following salient points:—

1. They are styled *Tabulæ Inveniendi.*

2. They are said to constitute an "almost visible" representation of that part of the philosophical system to which they pertain.

3. They are designed to show in some subjects the clearest possible distinctions between what is true and what is false.

4. They cannot be imitated by the timorous, especially for the reason that such persons will take so great delight in each specimen given that they will miss the precepts in it.

5. But readers of a more alert genius, or [if we rightly understand the phrase "visible" used in this connection] spectators, will suspect the existence of some hidden meanings in these writings, and thus be led to inquire what those meanings are and for what high and noble purpose designed. This is called the *Key to their Interpretation.*

6. They are works of art, not only new in kind, but also such as in future, when the principles of their construction shall have become known, may be improved upon by others.

7. The author will be under some kind of temptation to secure immediate personal fame or glory in connection with them, and subject also to importunities of friends for the same purpose.

8. These temptations and importunities, however, will be resisted, and the secret, whatever it may be, preserved for future times.

9. Some of these writings were to be withheld from the public until the corresponding treatise, intended to a certain extent to be open and explicit, should be published.

10. They are the most useful forms of inquiry that can be employed in the ascertainment of truth.

11. Isaac Gruter, the last-known custodian of Bacon's posthumous papers, and the possessor of some important secret which they had revealed to him, and which he had been for-

bidden to communicate to the public, carefully excluded from his printed copy of the *Cogitata et Visa* the passages containing the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth statements herein summarized. The omissions were not supplied until 1857, and then only in Latin.

Let us review these several points in order: —

1. *The writings are styled Tabulæ Inveniendi.*

Bacon divided his great work on Philosophy, the *Instauratio Magna*, into six parts, the first four of which may be described as follows:

Part first gives a survey or inventory of the stock of knowledge then existing in the world, with a statement of the deficiencies found in it. To this part belongs the 'Advancement of Learning,' particularly the second edition under the title of *De Augmentis Scientiarum.*[1]

Part second treats of the human understanding, and the rules and principles by which it ought to be guided in its researches after truth. Under this head is placed the *Novum Organum.*

Part third brings together, or seeks to bring together, out of every department of nature but one, the widest possible collection of facts, "arranged for the work of the understanding," and so classified as to yield to mankind, in Bacon's expectation, not only a better knowledge of the laws of the universe, but also a larger practical control over them. The writings in this division are the *Sylva Sylvarum*, 'History of the Winds,' 'History of Dense and Rare,' 'History of Life and Death,' and some others. The author's investigations

[1] Strictly speaking, the 'Advancement' is no part of Bacon's philosophical system, for it simply clears the ground on which to build. Its inclusion as part first was an afterthought of the author. The same criticism applies also to the so-called fifth part, which is nothing more than a general repository of such of Bacon's writings as do not conform to his method, but which he deemed worthy of preservation. As to the sixth part, he never intended to write it, and probably he had no clear idea of what it was to be. This whole classification of the scheme was, like everything else of Bacon's, unscientific and fanciful.

into the nature of heat and motion, though produced also by way of examples in the *Novum Organum*, come properly into the system here. These compositions are called *Tabulæ Inveniendi*, or 'Tables of Discovery,' because they are inquisitions into facts and because they have a certain regularity of form. The *Sylva Sylvarum*, for instance, is separated into ten centuries (chapters), so called because each century is itself separated into one hundred distinct paragraphs. Dramas, being divided into acts and scenes, conform to this description. Bacon calls the dialogues of Plato *tabulæ*. The canvas on which his own portrait was painted was called a *tabula*.

Part fourth was also designed, like the third, for an inquisition into facts, but, as we shall show, into facts of a mental and moral nature exclusively. Strange as it may seem, however, not a single line, except a brief preface entitled *Scala Intellectus*, can be found in Bacon's acknowledged works that belongs under this head.[1] And yet we know, from several references to it made by Bacon elsewhere, that he considered it a necessary and integral part of his philosophical system. For instance, he says in the *Novum Organum*: —

"It may also be asked whether I speak of natural philosophy only, or whether I mean that the other sciences, logic, ethics, and politics, should be carried on by this method. Now I certainly mean what I have said to be understood of them all. . . . For I am forming a history and *Tabulæ Inveniendi* for anger, fear, shame, and the like, for matters political, and again for the operation of memory and judgment, not less than for heat or cold or light or vegetation."[2]

In the *Filum Labyrinthi* he is even more specific in his description of these moral and political *Tabulæ Inveniendi;*

[1] "Of the fourth part not even any fragment has come down to us." — SPEDDING, v. 174.

[2] For the Latin, see Appendix E.

for he there gives a list of thirteen classes of them, four of which are entitled as follows: "*tabulæ* concerning animal passions; *tabulæ* concerning sense and the objects of sense; *tabulæ* concerning the affections of the mind; and *tabulæ* concerning the mind itself and its faculties."

Where, now, are these writings that deal with the passions and affections of the human heart, "with anger, fear, shame, and the like," arranged in divisions, more or less regular in form? They are missing; but that they were actually composed, and that they formed, or were designed to form, the fourth part of the *Instauratio Magna*, itself also missing, we have every reason to believe from what Bacon himself says of the fourth part:—

"Of these the first is to set forth examples of inquiry and invention [*tabulæ inveniendi*] according to my method, exhibited *by anticipation* in some particular subjects; choosing such subjects as are at once the *most noble in themselves* among those under inquiry, and most different one from another, that there may be an example in every kind. I do not speak of those examples which are joined to the several precepts and rules by way of illustration (for of these I have given plenty in the second part of the work); but I mean *actual types and models*, by which the entire process of the mind and the whole fabric and order of invention *from the beginning to the end* in *certain subjects*, and those *various and remarkable*, should be set, as it were, *before the eyes*. For I remember that in the mathematics it is easy to follow the demonstration when *you have a machine beside you:* whereas, without that help, all appears involved and more subtle than it really is. To examples of this kind — being, in fact, nothing more than an application of the second part in detail and at large — the fourth part of the work is devoted." — *Distributio Operis* (SPEDDING, ELLIS, *and* HEATH, viii. 51).[1] (Italics our own.)

Another strong indication that the fourth part had actually been written at that time, is afforded by what Bacon says of the sixth part:—

[1] For the Latin, see Appendix F.

"We entertain no hope of our life being prolonged to the completion of the sixth part of the Instauration."

No other part is mentioned as likely to fail; the fair inference is that no other did fail. Indeed, Bacon himself says on this point, as if to make his meaning clear to future students, "I am no vain promisor."

It is practically certain, therefore, that Bacon left behind him for the fourth part of his system writings which would accomplish in the interpretation of human nature, what he sought to accomplish in the third part for the interpretation of physical nature. But he tells us in the 'Advancement of Learning' that historians and poets are the best instructors in this branch of knowledge, because in their works, as he says, "we may find, painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited; how they disclose themselves, how they work, how they vary, how they gather and fortify, and how they are enwrapped one with another;" that is to say (as he further explains in the second or Latin edition of the 'Advancement'), historians and poets are best qualified to treat of human nature "because a man's character can be more powerfully delineated in action than in formal criticism." It is to the lasting credit of Gervinus that he saw how admirably the Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies of Shake-speare fit in this way into Bacon's scheme. "If Bacon," he says, "felt the want of a science of human nature, he rightly thought that historians and poets are the ones to supply it; and he well might have searched for it, before all, in the writings of his neighbor Shakespeare, for no other poetry has taught us, as his has done, that the taming of the passions is the aim of human civilisation." These plays are indeed the profoundest studies in human nature which the world possesses, each one in turn, the later ones at least,[1]

[1] It is probable that Bacon's purpose to substitute the Plays for the otherwise unwritten fourth part of his philosophical system was not formed until some of them had been produced. The numerous changes made during the

taking up a special trait of character and showing how it is developed; how it is first "kindled and incited," "how it works," and how it is "enwrapped" with others. What, for example, is 'King Lear' but a treatise in dramatic form on Ingratitude? 'Macbeth,' on Ambition? 'Julius Cæsar,' on Envy?[1] 'Othello,' on Jealousy? 'Anthony and Cleopatra,' on Lust? 'Love's Labor's Lost,' on Literary Asceticism? 'Timon of Athens,' on Prodigality? The 'Merchant of Venice,' on Avarice? 'All's Well that Ends Well,' on Pride of Birth? 'Coriolanus,' on Pride of Character? 'King John,' on Patriotism? 'Measure for Measure,' on Hypocrisy? 'Richard II.,' on Flattery? the 'Winter's Tale,' on Suspicion? 'Henry V.,' on Heroism? 'Cymbeline,' on Fidelity? 'Romeo and Juliet,' on Love? and 'Hamlet,' on extreme and impracticable Conscientiousness?[2]

In the *De Augmentis*, he expressly states that he would not have these characters presented

"in the shape of individual portraits, but rather in the several features and simple lineaments of which they are composed, and by the various combinations and arrangements of which all characters whatever are made up, showing how many, and of what nature these are, and how connected and subordinate, one to another; that so we may have a scientific and accurate dissection of minds and characters, and the secret dispositions of particular men may be revealed; and that for the knowledge thereof better rules may be framed for the treatment of the mind.

"And not only should the characters of dispositions which are impressed by nature be received into this treatise, but those also which are imposed on the mind by sex, by age, by religion, by

latter period of his life in the text of the early ones may thus in part be accounted for. Under similar conditions, that is, to supply the requirements of his first part, he revised 'The Advancement of Learning' seventeen years after its original publication.

[1] "All the conspirators, save only he
Did what they did in envy of great Cæsar."
Julius Cæsar, v. 5.

[2] A similar conception will yet be recognized and appreciated in the works of the great composer, Berlioz, to his undying fame. Dryden describes some of these musical effects in his admirable poem, 'Alexander's Feast.'

health and illness, by beauty and deformity, and the like; and again, those which are caused by fortune, as sovereignty, nobility, obscure birth, riches, want, magistracy, privateness, prosperity, adversity, and the like."

He could scarcely have made his meaning plainer, had he mentioned the Plays by name.

2. *They are said to constitute an "almost visible" representation of that part of the philosophical system to which they pertain.*

This is in exact accordance with Bacon's description of the drama as "visible history,"—*Dramatica est veluti historia spectabilis.*

In another tract Bacon describes these writings as *tanquam vivas,* a phrase which Mr. Spedding translates, "as it were, animate," and Mr. Montagu, by the word "living."

3. *They are designed to show in some subjects the clearest possible distinctions between what is true and what is false.*

In the last analysis, experience is our sole guide in the conduct of life. Whatever in the long run makes for happiness is right. Whatever in the long run makes for misery is wrong. In most affairs, however, we can judge results only after several generations of men, one after another, have worked them out. Hence, for our criterion in many given cases we must go to history. But history can be abridged and made to teach in a few hours artificially, on the mimic stage, what in actual life may require, in the language of Bacon, "ambages of time." It is perhaps this special test of truth to which the writings of Bacon, now under consideration, must be referred.

Bacon himself (as above) compares this mode of investigating truth with the use of diagrams in mathematics. What better illustration could there be of the certainty with which the course of envy, for example, is traced out, "before our eyes" and "from beginning to end," in 'Julius Cæsar,' or that of jealousy in 'Othello'?

4. *They cannot be imitated by the timorous, especially for the reason that such persons will take so great delight in each specimen given that they will miss the precepts in it.*

This remarkable prognostication, so exactly fulfilled, of the fate of the philosophy in the writings referred to, was made by Bacon in 1608, but not printed in any form (as before shown) until 1857. And yet Miss Delia Bacon, demanding to know in 1856 what had become of these same writings, and having no access, it is believed, to the manuscript of the *Cogitata et Visa*, inquired, "Did he [Bacon] make so deep a summer in his verse that the track of the precept was lost in it?"

5. *But readers, or spectators, of a more alert genius will suspect the existence of some hidden meanings in these writings, and thus be led to inquire what those meanings are and for what high and noble purpose designed. This is called the Key to their Interpretation.*

Notwithstanding Bacon's own confession that a part of his philosophical system was enigmatic, no one has yet discovered in his acknowledged works any hidden meanings whatever.

6. *They are works of art, not only new in kind, but such as in future, when the principles of their construction shall have become known, may be improved upon by others.*

It has been said of the dramas of Shake-Speare that they are untrue to life; in other words, that they do not correctly represent social conditions, either as such conditions are, or as they can be. Why? Simply because (to speak generally of them) each develops under the laws of art a single trait of character, to which all other considerations are subordinate. Society on the other hand is complex. Bacon himself says:

"God forbid that we should ever offer the dreams of fancy for a model of the world." — *Distributio Operis.*

7. *The author will be under some kind of temptation to secure immediate personal fame or glory in connection with them, and subject also to importunities of friends for the same purpose.*

This cannot apply to any of Bacon's known works; for Bacon took great pains to secure for them the widest publicity in his own time, dedicating them successively to members of the royal family, presenting them to influential friends, and depositing copies, as soon as printed, in public libraries.

8. *These temptations and importunities, however, will be resisted; and the secret, whatever it may be, preserved for future times.*

The reason for this secrecy is stated in the plainest possible manner. It was because Bacon sought entrance into men's minds, as Charles VIII. did into Italy, without opposition, and therefore, it may be inferred, wished to avoid any unnecessary prejudice that might have arisen from the form of writings best adapted for his purpose. "I shall adhere," he says in substance, "to my preconceived plan, whatever its effect on my personal fortunes may be." Of course, if the form of the writings were in any manner deemed objectionable at that time, this fact would naturally have strengthened the motives, if it did not indeed originate them, operating against premature disclosure.

It should furthermore be noted that Bacon admonishes every one doing this work to do it as he did, not only "without hope of private emolument,[1] but also "under a mask."[2]

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[1] "I am not hunting for fame nor establishing a sect. Indeed, to receive any private emolument from so great an undertaking I hold to be both ridiculous and base." — *De Interpretatione Naturæ Prœmium.*

[2] "Privata negotia personatus administret." — *De Moribus Interpretis, Ibid.*, vii. 367.

We are not surprised to find Mr. Spedding commenting on the above (in a foot-note) as follows: "I cannot say that I clearly understand the sentence." Mr. Spedding did not see fit, however, in the fourteen large volumes of his

9. *Some of these writings were to be withheld from the public until the corresponding treatise, intended to a certain extent to be open and explicit, should be brought out.*

The *Novum Organum* was published in 1620. It was begun, Dr. Rawley says, at least twelve years before that date; that is, on or before 1608, at which time also the *Cogitata et Visa* was written. It appears, then, that in 1608 some of the enigmatical writings belonging to the fourth part of Bacon's philosophical system had already been published, but that the remainder were to be withheld until some work of a different kind, but connected with them, had also first been published. This work must have been the *Novum Organum*, for Bacon himself says (in a paragraph above quoted) that the writings of the fourth part of his philosophical system are "nothing more than an application of the second part [that is, of the *Novum Organum*] in detail and at large." The publication of the reserved writings was to be made, therefore, after 1620.[1] The plays included in the first Shakespeare folio number thirty-six, of which twenty-five were in existence previously to 1608. Of these latter, however, sixteen only had been printed on or before that date; the others

edition of Bacon's Life, Letters, and Works, to translate the above passage into English.

The plain meaning is that the personal identity of the interpreter should be concealed, or (more literally) the interpreter should not be known as such in his daily life. He should bear an assumed name. This may remind our readers of Sir Toby Matthew's famous postscript, appended to a letter written to Bacon at or about the time the first Shakespeare folio was in press; namely, that his lordship was the most prodigious wit in all the world, though known by the name of another.

[1] It seems probable that in the further development of the scheme (after 1608), the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* was made in part, if not chiefly, to answer this preliminary purpose. Every important principle enunciated in that great work, almost every figure of speech and illustration with which it is adorned, are introduced into the Plays. This evidently was Gruter's opinion, if we may judge by the frontispiece which he inserted in his edition of it, and which we describe on page 143.

The publication of the *De Augmentis* occurred in the autumn of 1623, a few weeks preceding that of the first Shake-speare folio, and therefore in strict accord with the author's original intention.

were "withheld," for reasons hitherto absolutely unknown, and not even conjectured, until 1623, when they appeared for the first time in print.[1]

Moreover, Bacon distinctly asserts, in the paragraph already quoted from the *Distributio Operis,* that in setting forth his method in the fourth part he should "choose such subjects as are at once the most noble in themselves," and such also as would enable him to produce "actual types and models" of human life. He further asserts that he should by no means fail to produce these "types and models,"[2] and that, when produced, they would belong to the fourth part of his philosophical system. Where are they? When were they published? Is a line of them to be found in the author's prose works?

10. *They are the most useful forms of inquiry that can be employed in the ascertainment of truth.*

The most potent source of influence in the world, either for good or ill, is example. This comes to us generally, of course, in actual life, but oftentimes with far more force and impressiveness on the stage of a theatre. Bacon especially commends play-acting as a "means of educating men to virtue," and notices the fact that "minds are more open to impressions when people are gathered together than when they are alone." This he pronounces "one of the great secrets of nature." Indeed, he goes farther and lays down the general rule that in teaching any science in opposition to received

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[1] 'Troilus and Cressida' appears at first sight to be an exception to this statement, for it was printed in 1609. On the contrary, it is a confirmation, the publisher stating in the preface that it had "escaped from grand possessors." It was printed against the author's will. Mr. Charles Knight says that this same restraining influence of some person or persons of high rank succeeded in keeping every other new Shakespearean play out of type between 1608 and 1620, but he does not attempt to account for it. 'Othello' appeared in quarto in 1622.

[2] "He will therefore intermit no part of his undertaking," — a statement implying that he had already produced, or was then (1608) actually producing. the works described. This is one of the passages consistently omitted by Gruter in his printed copy of the *Cogitata et Visa.*

opinions one must make use of "feigned histories," or (to adopt his own words) "must pray in aid of similitudes."

11. *Isaac Gruter, the last known custodian of Bacon's posthumous papers, and the possessor of some important secret which they had revealed to him, and which he had been forbidden to communicate to the public, carefully excluded from his printed copy of the Cogitata et Visa the passages containing the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth statements herein summarized. The omissions were not supplied till* 1857, *and then only in Latin.*

The identity of these mysterious writings with those of the missing Fourth Part — that is, with "actual types and models set before the eyes," in "subjects various and remarkable," and so chosen that there may be "an example of each kind," and exhibiting in each, "from beginning to end, the entire process of the mind" — can be shown by one of these omitted passages, to wit:

"He does not wish to conceal this, or impose any rigid forms of inquiry upon men (after the manner now in vogue in the arts). . . . Nor would he hinder those who have more leisure than he has, or who are free from the special difficulties that always beset the pioneer, or who are of a more powerful and sublime genius, from improving on it; for he finds in his own experience that the art of inventing grows by invention itself."[1]

In the *Scala Intellectus*, or Preface to the Fourth Part, we find the same sentiments applied to the lost contents, as follows:

"Nevertheless, we would not lay down, after the manner now in vogue among men, any rigid rules of our own, as though they were unique and inviolable, for the preparation of these works. We would not so cramp and confine the industry and felicity of mankind. Indeed, we know of nothing to hinder others who have

[1] For the original Latin, see the closing paragraph in italics of Appendix D.

more leisure than we have, and who are freed from the special difficulties that always attend a first experiment, from carrying our method to higher perfection. True art is progressive."[1]

What, now, was the nature of these writings? Mr. Spedding says that at one period "Bacon thought of throwing the exposition of his argument into a dramatic form."[2] Can there be any doubt that he actually did this? If so, one additional circumstance, now for the first time adverted to, in Gruter's mysterious work, will, we are confident, set it definitely and forever at rest.

In 1645 Gruter published at Leyden an edition of Bacon's *De Augmentis*, and inserted in it, in accordance with a custom of the time, a pictorial allegory as a frontispiece. We reproduce this picture as our own frontispiece also. In it Bacon appears seated at a table with a large open volume before him. He is pointing to this volume with the index finger of his right hand. With his left arm extended, he is restraining a female figure intent upon carrying a clasped book to a temple, evidently the Temple of Fame, on a distant height. This figure is clad in a beast's skin, and is therefore, we think, the Muse of Tragedy, the word *tragedy*

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[1] For the Latin, see Appendix G.

[2] Works (Spedding), vii. 363. We find a hint of this in the 'Address to the Great Variety of Readers,' prefixed to the first Shakespeare Folio. Bacon had said in the *De Augmentis* that he had two methods of communicating his philosophy to the world, — the one, exoteric, or open to all; the other, enigmatic; that is, as he said, designed "by obscurity of delivery to exclude the vulgar (the profane vulgar) from the secrets of knowledge, and to admit those persons only who have received the interpretation of the enigmas through the hands of teachers, or have wits of such sharpness and discernment that they can of themselves pierce the veil." The readers of the Folio are told, in the Address to which we have referred, to "read him again and again; and if you do not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger not to understand him. And so we leave you to other of his friends who, if you need, can be your guides. If you need them not, you can lead yourselves and others. And such readers we wish him."

This would seem to indicate not only the existence of some hidden meanings in the Shake-speare dramas, but also a unity of method and purpose between them and Bacon's acknowledged philosophical works.

being derived from the two Greek words τράγος and ᾠδή, meaning goat and song (literally, goat-song). In ancient Greece the goat was sacred to the drama. At every performance in the theatre, actors and even members of the chorus wore goat-skins.

May we not interpret this allegory as follows? Bacon is here represented as the author of two works, — one, open and acknowledged; the other, enigmatical, dramatic, and unacknowledged. The restraint exercised upon Gruter in his desire to publish some literary secret about Bacon is suggested by the struggling figure we see with a book, and the nature of the secret itself, not only by the identity of Bacon's companion in the picture, dressed in a goat's skin, but also by the evident relationship existing between the two books, respectively body and soul of the Baconian philosophy.

Chapter Five

THE CLASSICAL ELEMENT IN THE PLAYS

I. THE LATIN LANGUAGE

SHAKE-SPEARE'S fondness for words derived from the Latin language, and his use of them in senses true to their original roots, even in instances where they had already acquired in English other and sometimes directly opposite meanings, have frequently been noticed. Hallam and Gervinus both call attention to this singular but very scholarly characteristic of the Shake-speare plays. Indeed, the primitive meaning of a Latin word seems generally to have been uppermost in the author's mind, a fact which nothing but a thorough classical education, begun in childhood and culminating somewhat in the ease and naturalness with which one uses one's mother's tongue, can well account for. Some of these words in the same foreign signification may be found, to be sure, in the writings of a few of Shake-speare's contemporaries, but never in obedience to a scholarship so sweeping, so persistent, and so profound. So strong was this idiosyncrasy in Shake-speare and in a minor degree in one or two other playwrights of his time that Ben Jonson, himself a great classical scholar, wrote a comedy to ridicule it.

What is also remarkable is the fact, easily demonstrable, that these Latinized words, many of them coined by the author and used for the first time by him in our language, appear as frequently in the earliest plays as in those of later date.

An exhaustive list of such words as we refer to is here, of course, out of the question, but the following examples may perhaps suffice to show that, not the letter, or knowledge of external forms, only, of the Latin language, but also and especially its inner spirit was an essential part of Shakespeare's mental equipment:

ABRUPTION, from *ab-rumpere*, to break off, to terminate suddenly.

"*Cressida.* The gods grant —
Troilus. What should they grant? What makes this pretty abruption?"
Troilus and Cressida, iii. 2.

First known use of the word in our language.

ABSOLUTE, from *absolvere*, to free, as from doubt.

"I am absolute
'T was my Cloten."
Cymbeline, iv. 2.

Also, free from imperfection.

"A most absolute and elegant horse."
Henry V., iii. 7.

First known use of the word in this classical sense; now obsolete.

ABSURD, from *absurdus*, harsh, grating.

"That 's the way
To fool their preparation, and to conquer
Their most absurd intents."
Anthony and Cleopatra, v. 2.

Cleopatra was referring to Cæsar's cruel threats, to destroy her children and make an exhibition of her in the streets of Rome. These were the "absurd intents."

To ABUSE, from *abuti*, to misuse, to deceive, but not necessarily with any intention to injure.

"The blind rascally boy that abuses every one's eyes." — *As You Like It*, iv. 1.

"You are much abused, if you think your virtue can withstand the King's power." — BACON'S *Advancement of Learning* (1605).

Also so used by Caxton, 1477. This sense is preserved in the negative *disabuse.*

ACTURE, from *agere*, to act.

"All my offences that abroad you see
Are errors of the blood, none of the mind;
Love made them not; with acture they may be,
Where neither party is nor true nor kind."

A Lover's Complaint.

The only instance of the use of this word in the language. It was coined from Latin by the author of the Plays.

ADMITTANCE, from *ad-mittere*, to admit, as into society.

"You are a gentleman of excellent breeding, admirable discourse, of great admittance." — *Merry Wives of Windsor*, ii. 2.

First known use of the word in this Latin sense; now obsolete.

AFFRONT, from *ad frontem*, to meet face to face, to accost, without any feeling of hostility.

"That he, as 't were by accident, may here
Affront Ophelia."

Hamlet, iii. 1.

First known use in this strict Latin sense; obsolete.

ANTHROPOPHAGI, adopted into the Latin language from the Greek ἄνθρωπος, man, and φαγεῖν, to eat.

"He 'll speak like an Anthropophaginian."

Merry Wives, iv. 5.

Used in this form but once before, by a preacher in the time of Edward VI.

ANTRE, poetic form of the Latin *antrum*, cave.

"Antres vast and deserts idle."

Othello, i. 3.

First known use in our language.

ASPERSION, from *aspergere*, to sprinkle, as in baptism, with no sinister meaning.

> "No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall,
> To make this contract grow."
>
> *Tempest*, iv. 1.

Also in Bacon:

"There is to be found, besides the theological sense, much aspersion of philosophy."

So used also by Fox, 1553–87.

ASSUBJUGATE, from *as-subjugare*, to debase.

> "Nor, by my will, assubjugate his merit."
>
> *Troilus and Cressida*, ii. 3.

First known use in the language.

ASTONISH, from *ad-tonare*, to strike with a thunder-bolt, to stun.

> "Neither he, nor his compeers by night,
> Giving him aid, my verse astonished."
>
> *Sonnet* 86.

Used before in this sense once or twice only.

ATE, in Greek mythology the Goddess of Discord.

> "You shall find her the eternal Ate in good apparel."
>
> *Much Ado*, ii. 1.

> "More Ates, more Ates, stir them on."
>
> *Love's Labor 's Lost*, v. 2.

> "With him along is come the mother-queen,
> An Ate, stirring him to blood and strife."
>
> *King John* ii. 1.

> "Cæsar's spirit, ranging for revenge,
> With Ate by his side come hot from hell,
> Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice
> Cry 'Havoc'!"
>
> *Julius Cæsar*, iii. 1.

Used apparently but once before in our language.

CADE, from *cadere,* to fall.

"We, John Cade, so termed of our supposed father;
. . . .
For our enemies shall fall before us."

2 *Henry VI.*, iv. 2.

This is a Latin pun on the name Cade, although we are told in the line preceding that the reformer was named from a cade or barrel of herrings. The author's temptation to make a classic pun could not be restrained, however, by any such obstacle as this.

CADENT, from *cadere,* to fall.

"With cadent tears fret channels in her cheek."

Lear, i. 4.

First known use of the word; coined from the Latin language by Shake-speare.

CANDIDATUS, a Latin word derived from *candidus,* white; so used because those who sought office in Rome were obliged to clothe themselves in white togas.

"Be candidatus then, and put it on."

Titus Andronicus, i. 1.

The English word *candidate* appears to have been introduced into the language for the first time thirty years after the play was written.

CAPABLE, from *capere,* to take; able to receive; qualified to hold or possess (property).

"And of my land,
Loyal and natural boy, I 'll work the means
To make thee capable." *Lear*, ii. 1.

"Capable impressure
Thy palm some moment keeps."

As You Like It, iii. 5.

First known appearance of the word in this primitive sense; a strict Latinism, "used here," says Richard Grant White, "in a peculiarly and unmistakably Shakespearean

manner. Yet it has been proposed to read palpable. The change is one of a kind that commends itself to the approval of those who have not fully apprehended the peculiarities of Shakespeare's diction." But we find the same word in the same sense in contemporary prose:

"They had been made fully capable of the clearness of the title." — BACON, 1621.

CAPITULATE, from *capitulare*, to arrange under heads, to make terms, not necessarily in surrender.

"Percy, Northumberland,
The archbishop's grace of York, Douglas, Mortimer,
Capitulate against us and are up."
1 Henry IV., iii. 2 (1598).

First known use of the word in this sense. Later instances may be cited as follows:

"He did not intend to capitulate with his majesty." — SIR T. LAKE, 1618.

"Think not to capitulate with Christ, and divide your heart betwixt him and the world." — BAXTER, 1669.

CAPRICIOUS, from *caper*, goat; frisky, fanciful.

"I am here with thee and thy goats, as the most capricious poet, honest Ovid, was among the Goths." — *As You Like It*, iii. 3.

A double pun. Ovid, an imaginative or fanciful poet, was exiled among the Goths (pronounced in Shake-speare's time Gōtes).

CAPTIOUS, from *capere*, to receive.

"Yet in this captious and intenible seive
I still pour in the waters of my love."
All's Well, i. 3.

Sole known use of the word in this sense in the language. The Latinism is so remarkable that commentators are puzzled to know its meaning. One of them says:

"We incline to believe, with Farmer, that captious here is only a contraction for *capacious*." — STAUNTON.

CEREMENTS, from Latin *cerare*, to wax, waxed cloths for wrapping the dead.

"But tell,
Why thy canoniz'd bones, hears'd in death,
Have burst their cerements." *Hamlet*, i. 4.

"Apparently caught up by modern writers from Shakespeare" [but not till 200 years after 'Hamlet' was written]. — MURRAY'S *Historical Dictionary*.

CHARACTER, Latin *character*, instrument for marking, used by meton. for printing or writing.

"Show me your image in some antique book,
Since mind at first in character was done."
Sonnet 59.

First known time in this sense.

CIRCUMMURE, from *circum-murare*, to wall around.

"He hath a garden circummured with brick."
Measure for Measure, iv. 1.

First known use.

CIVIL, from *civis*, citizen; pertaining to citizens.

"Civil blood makes civil hands unclean."
Romeo and Juliet, Prol.

"Civil business." — BACON.
"Civil knowledge." — *Ibid.*

The first known appearance of this word in its literal sense is in Shake-speare.

COLLECTION, from *colligere*, to gather together; inference, conclusion.

"When I wak'd, I found
This label on my bosom; whose containing
Is so from sense in hardness, that I can
Make no collection of it."
Cymbeline, v. 5.

"The nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which, indeed, they do but collect." — BACON.

So used by More, 1529; Ben Jonson, 1601.

COMBINATE, from *combinare*, to combine, unite.

"Her combinate husband."
Measure for Measure, iii. 1.

That is, combined by a promise to marry. First and only known use of the word in this sense in our language.

COMPETITOR, from *com-petere*, to seek together, to have a common aim; in agreement, rather than in rivalry.

"And every hour more competitors
Flock to their aid." *Richard III.*, iv. 4.

So also used by Fenton, 1579.

CONCEITED, from *concipere*, to imagine; fanciful.

"Oft did she heave her napkin to her eyes,
Which on it had conceited characters."
A Lover's Complaint.

Used also in this sense by Gabriel Harvey, 1575.

CONFLUX, from *confluere*, to flow together.

"As knots, by the conflux of meeting sap,
Infect the sound pine."
Troilus and Cressida, i. 3.

First known use in our language.

CONGRUETH, CONGRUING, } from *congruere*, to meet together, to agree.

"Government, being put into parts,
Congrueth with a mutual consent, like music."
Quarto edition of King Henry V., i. 2 (1600).

"Which imports at full,
By letters congruing to that effect,
The present death of Hamlet."
Quarto edition of Hamlet, iv. 3 (1604).

First use of this verb in our language; introduced directly from the Latin. For some unknown reason, probably because the word, being new, was not understood, the printers of the Folio edition (1623) changed it in both of the above passages into the motley form, *congreeing*. Modern editors, however,

not satisfied with this work of mutilation, have again changed it, in one of these instances, to *conjuring*.

CONSCIENCE, from *con-scire*, to know inwardly; judgment, opinion, consciousness.

> "I will speak my conscience of the king."
>
> *Henry V.*, iv. 1.

"The conscience of good intentions." — BACON.

So used also by Fox, 1563–87.

CONSPECTUITIES, from *conspicere*, to behold.

"What harm can your bisson conspectuities glean out of this character?" — *Coriolanus*, ii. 1.

Not used before or since, so far as known, in the English language.

CONSTRINGED, from *con-stringere*, to draw together, to compress.

> "The dreadful spout,
> Which shipmen do the hurricano call,
> Constring'd in mass by the almighty sun."
>
> *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 2.

First known use in this sense.

CONTAIN, from *con-tinere*, to hold together, to keep.

> "If you had known the virtue of the ring,
> Or half her worthiness that gave the ring,
> Or your own honor to contain the ring,
> You would not then have parted with the ring."
>
> *Merchant of Venice*, v. 1.

"I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards." — BACON.

CONTINUATE, from *continuatus*, continued, enduring.

> "A most incomparable man, breathed, as it were,
> To an untirable and continuate goodness."
>
> *Timon of Athens*, i. 1.

First known use in this sense.

CONTRACTION, from *con-trahere*, to draw together, to come to an agreement, as in marriage.

> "O, such a deed,
> As from the body of contraction, plucks
> The very soul."
>
> *Hamlet*, iii. 4.

So used by Hakluyt, 1598.

CONTRIVE, from *conterere*, *contrivi*, to wear away, to spend.

> "Please ye we may contrive this afternoon,
> And quaff carouses to our mistress' health."
>
> *Taming of the Shrew*, i. 2.

Some of the commentators, apparently with no knowledge of the irregularities of the Latin verb, substitute *convive* for *contrive* in the above passage. And yet Terence writes, *contrivi diem*. In the vernacular, wherever it means to invent or plot, the word has another derivation.

CONVENT, from *con-venire*, to come together, to become suitable.

> "When that is known and golden time convents."
>
> *Twelfth Night*, v. 1.

First time known in this sense in the language. Now obsolete.

CONVIVE, from *con-vivere*, to live or feast together.

> "All you peers of Rome, go to my tent;
> There in the full convive we."
>
> *Troilus and Cressida*, iv. 5.

First and only use of the word known in our language; coined directly from the Latin by Shake-speare.

COUNTERFEIT, from *contra-facere*, to imitate, to portray, with no sinister meaning.

> "Look here upon this picture and on this,
> The counterfeit presentment of two brothers."
>
> *Hamlet*, iii. 4.
>
> "Fair Portia's counterfeit."
>
> *Merchant of Venice*, iii. 2.

So used by Puttenham, 1589.

CREDENT, from *credere*, to believe.

"With too credent ear you list his songs."
Hamlet, i. 3.

Coined by Shake-speare.

DELATED, from *deferre*, to waft away.

"And the delated spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribb'd ice."
Measure for Measure, iii. 1.

"They are close delations, working from the heart."
Othello, iii. 3.

"In delation of sounds the enclosure of them preserveth them and causeth them to be heard further." — BACON'S *Sylva Sylvarum*.

"It is certain that the delation of light is in an instant." — *Ibid.*

A strict Latinism, used here for the first time in the language. Could anything be more grotesque than the commentators' persistent reading *delighted* (an obvious misprint) in this passage? That is to say, to be wrapped in flames or imbedded in ice after death, a delight! Bacon and Shakespeare use the substantive *delation* in the same sense in which the adjective is here used.

DERACINATE, from *de-radix*, eradicate.

"Rend and deracinate
The unity and married calm of states."
Troilus and Cressida, i. 3.

First known use in the language.

DERIVE, from *derivare*, to turn upon, to deflect.

"What friend of mine,
That had to him derived your anger, did I
Continue in my liking?"
Henry VIII., ii. 4.

This is so strict a Latinism that commentators fail to correct a misprint in the 'Merchant of Venice,' where the folio has *drive*, thus:

"The other half comes to the general state,
Which humbleness may *drive* unto a fine." — iv. 1.

Cicero often used it, of course in the true sense, as in the phrase, *culpam derivare in aliquem*, to throw, or divert, the blame upon another. Some early English writers also.

DEROGATE, from *derogare*, to detract from, to debase.

As an adjective:

"And from her derogate body never spring
A babe to honor her."

Lear, i. 4.

As an intransitive verb:

"You cannot derogate, my lord."

Cymbeline, ii. 1.

In both instances the first known use in the language.

DILATED, from *dilatare*, to spread out.

"I will not praise thy wisdom,
Which, like a bourn, a pale, a shore, confines
Thy spacious and dilated parts."

Troilus and Cressida, ii. 3.

Used as an adjective, so far as known, but once before in the language.

DIRECTITUDE, from *dirigere*, to rule.

"*3 Servant.* Look you, sir, he has as many friends as enemies; which friends, sir, (as it were) durst not (look you, sir) show themselves (as we term it) his friends, whilst he 's in directitude.
1 Servant. Directitude! what 's that?" — *Coriolanus*, iv. 5.

Not used, before or since, in the language.

DOLORS, from Latin *dolere*, to suffer pain or grief.

"The graces of his merits due,
Being all to dolors turn'd."

Cymbeline, v. 4.

"Thou shalt have as many dolors for thy daughters, as thou can'st tell in a year." —*King Lear*, ii. 4.

"How poor Andromache shrills her dolors forth!"
Troilus and Cressida, v. 3.

First known use of this word in the plural number in the language. In one of the above instances the printers of the Folio changed it into the singular, to bring it into accord with English usage.

EMPIRICUTIC, from *empiricus* empiric (analogous to pharmaceutic).

"The most sovereign prescription in Galen is but empiricutic." —*Coriolanus*, ii. 1.

First and only time in our language.

ERRANT, from *errare*, to wander, vagrant.

"As knots, by the conflux of meeting sap,
Infect the sound pine, and divert his grain,
Tortive and errant from his course of growth."
Troilus and Cressida, i. 3.

Rarely used before Shake-speare's time.

EVITATE, from *evitare*, to avoid.

"Since therein she doth evitate and shun
A thousand irreligious cursed hours."
Merry Wives of Windsor, v. 5.

Used previously by Parke, 1588. Bacon seems to have been the first to use the substantive, *evitation*.

EXCESS, from *excedere*, to exceed, anything beyond what is proper, as interest on a loan.

"I neither lend nor borrow
By taking nor by giving of excess."
Merchant of Venice, i. 3.

First known application of the word to *interest* in the language.

EXCREMENT, from *excrescere*, to grow out, especially of hair, nails, and feathers.

"It will please his grace (by the world) sometime to lean upon my poor shoulder, and with his royal finger, thus, dally with my excrement, my mustachio." — *Love's Labor 's Lost*, v. 1.

First known use in this strictly Latin sense in our language.

EXHIBITION, from *exhibitio*, sustenance, as in the Latin phrase *exhibitio et tegumentum* (food and raiment).

"What maintenance he from his friends receives,
Like exhibition thou shalt have from me."
Two Gentlemen of Verona, i. 3.

Rarely used, before or since, in this classical signification. Once, however, by Bacon, thus:

"She received only a pension or exhibition out of his coppers." — *History of Henry VII.*

Shake-speare makes another use of the word in 'Cymbeline':

"Hir'd with that self-exhibition
Which your own coffers yield." i. 7.

That is to say, Leonatus was spending in debauchery money which Cymbeline herself had allowed him for his travels.

EXPEDIENT, from *ex-pedire*, to disentangle the foot, to hasten.

"His marches are expedient to this town."
King John, ii. 1.

With the exception of Elyot, who wrote in very old English, 1485, Shake-speare seems to have been the first to use this word in its classical sense.

EXPIATE, from *ex(s)pirare*, to expire, come to an end (with elision of a letter).

"Make haste; the hour of death is expiate."
Richard III., iii. 3.

First and only known use in this classical sense in the language.

EXTENUATE, from *extenuare* (tenuis), to make thin, to diminish.

"Nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice."

Othello, v. 2 (1623).

"To extenuate and disable learned men." — *Advancement of Learning.*

A strict Latinism.

EXTERN, from *externus*, outward.

"Wer't aught to me I bore the canopy,
With my extern the outward honoring?"

Sonnet 125.

First known use as a substantive.

EXSUFFLICATE, from *ex-sub-sufflare*, to inflate, blow up.

"Exchange me for a goat,
When I shall turn the business of my soul
To such exsufflicate and blown surmises."

Othello, iii. 3.

First and only use in our language; coined directly from the Latin by Shake-speare, with a conscious sovereign command over details of form.

Hanmer proposed to substitute exsuffolate, from Italian *suffolare*, to whistle, and this arbitrary and absurd proposition found favor with some later editors.

EXTRAVAGANT, from *extra-vagare*, to wander beyond limits; vagrant.

"Th' extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine."

Hamlet, i. 1.

The first known use of this word in its primitive classical sense in the language.

FACTIOUS, from *facere*, to do, to act.

"Be factious for redress of all these griefs."

Julius Cæsar, i. 3.

That is, do your best, be diligent, active, — first and only use of the word in this sense known to us. A strict Latinism.

FEODARY, from *fœdus*, a covenant. In Shake-speare, one who is bound by covenant; an accomplice.

"Art thou a feodary for this act?"
Cymbeline, iii. 2 (1623).

"Else let my brother die,
If not a feodary, but only he
Owe and succeed [possess and follow] thy weakness."
Measure for Measure, ii. 4 (1623).

First known use in this derivative sense in our language.

FESTINATE, FESTINATELY, } from *festinare*, to hasten.

"Advise the duke where you are going, to a most festinate preparation." — *King Lear*, iii. 7.

"Bring him festinately hither."
Love's Labor 's Lost, iii. 1.

First known use of either of these words in the language, though the substantive *festination* is found in Elyot, 1540.

FLEXURE, from *flectere*, to bend.

"The elephant hath joints, but none for courtesy; his legs are legs for necessity, not for flexure." — *Troilus and Cressida*, ii. 3.

"Will it give place to flexure and low bending?"
King Henry V., v. i.

Used by two other authors in the decade 1590–1600, but not until the first draft of 'King Henry V.' had been acted for several years.

FLUXIVE, from *fluere*, to flow.

"These often bath'd she in her fluxive eyes."
Lover's Complaint.

First known use in our language.

FORTITUDE, from *fortitudo*, *fortis*, strong.

"The fortitude of the place is best known to you."
Othello, i. 3.

The first known use of the word in this sense, as applied to inanimate objects.

FRACTIONS, from *frangere*, to break; anything broken, disconnected.

> "After distasteful looks and these hard fractions,
> With certain half-caps and cold-moving nods,
> They froze me into silence."
>
> *Timon of Athens*, ii. 2.

First known use in this general sense.

GAUDY, from Latin *gaudium*, festivity.

> "*Anthony* [*to Cleopatra*]. Come,
> Let 's have another gaudy night."
>
> *Anthony and Cleopatra*, iii, 11.

A slang word used in the universities and the Inns of Court, where, according to the author of 'Polimanteia' (1595), the dramatist (referred to under a pseudonym) had been educated.

HAVING, HAVER, } from *habeo, habens*, having possessions; a Latin idiom.

> "My noble partner
> You greet with present grace and great prediction
> Of noble having."
>
> *Macbeth*, i. 3.

So Virgil:

"Aut doluit miserans inopem, aut invidit habenti."
(The miserable either laments his want of wealth or hates the haver.)

HYMENÆUS, a Latin word, meaning pertaining to marriage.

> "Behold, I choose thee, Tamora, for my bride,
> And will create thee Empress of Rome.
> Speak, Queen of Goths, doest thou applaud my choice?
> And here I swear by all the Roman gods, —
> Sith priest and holy water are so near,
> And tapers burn so bright, and every thing
> In readiness for Hymenæus stand."
>
> *Titus Andronicus*, i. 2.

First known use in the language. The substantive Hymen occurred in several of the Shake-speare plays, as acted, long before any other author introduced it from the Greek.

IMPERCEIVERANT, from *imperceptibilis*, incapable of perception blind.

> "This imperceiverant thing loves him in my despite."
>
> *Cymbeline*, iv. 1.

This word was never used elsewhere, before or since, in the English language. On this account, some editors have substituted perseverant for it, at the sacrifice of its true meaning; for perseverant is derived from *persevare*, to persevere.

IMPORTANCE, from *importare*, to signify, to import.

"The wisest beholder, that knew no more but seeing, could not say, if the importance were joy or sorrow." — *Winter's Tale*, v. 2.

First known use in this classical sense in our language. Shake-speare appears, also, to have been the first to introduce the substantive *import*, meaning significancy, into the language.

INCARNADINE, from late Latin *incarnare*, to become incarnate, as modified in the Spanish *incarnadino*, tinged with the color of flesh.

> "My hand will rather
> The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
> Making the green one red."
>
> *Macbeth*, ii. 2.

Not only coined by Shake-speare, but coined out of one of the Romance languages, with full knowledge of its Latin root. Ital. *colore incarnato*.

INCONY, from *incognitus*, unknown, rare.

> "My sweet ounce of man's flesh; my incony Jew!"
>
> *Love's Labor 's Lost*, iii. 1.

First known use in the language.

INFESTION, from *in-festare*, to molest, attack.

> "This fortress [England], built by Nature for herself,
> Against infestion."
>
> *Richard II.*, ii. 1.

The folio has infection, an evident misprint (as pointed out by Malone), though many commentators still insist that Shake-speare represents fortresses as built against infectious diseases! The meaning is, of course, that England, from its insular position, is naturally exempt from attack. A strict Latinism.

INHERIT, from *in-haerere*, to cling to, to belong.

> "The great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve."
>
> *Tempest*, iv. 1.

That is, all things which belong to it. A strict Latinism.

INSISTURE, from *insistere*, to continue steadfastly.

> "The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre,
> Observe degree, priority, and place,
> Insisture, course, proportion."
>
> *Troilus and Cressida*, i. 3.

"A word of obscure use in Shakespeare," says Dr. Murray in his great dictionary. Coined by the dramatist directly from the Latin, but not adopted in the language. A seed, among many, sown in vain after Bacon's manner.

INTERMISSION, from *inter-mittere*, to pause, stop.

> "You loved, I loved; for intermission
> No more pertains to me, my lord, than you."
>
> *Merchant of Venice*, iii. 2.

So strict a Latinism that Mr. Staunton, unable with the false punctuation of the text to comprehend it, proposes to substitute the word "pastime." And yet Mr. Lewis Theobald explained nearly two hundred years ago that this was the "meaning of *intermissio* among the Latins."

ITERANCE, from *iterare*, to repeat.

> "What needs this iterance, woman? I say, thy husband."
>
> *Othello*, v. 2.

First known use in our language.

LEGERITY, from *levis*, light, modified in the Spanish *ligero*, and Italian *leggiero*.

"Newly move
With casted slough and fresh legerity."

Henry V., iv. 1.

MANDRAGORA, a Latin word; mandrake.

"Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
Which thou ow'dst yesterday."

Othello, iii. 3.

Dr. Bucknill says: "Shakespeare refers to this plant altogether six times, and it is noteworthy that on the two occasions where its real medicinal properties are mentioned, the Latin term *mandragora* is used; the vulgar appellation *mandrake* is employed when the vulgar superstition is alluded to."

MINIMUS, a Latin word.

"You minimus, of hindering knot-grass made."

Midsummer-Night's Dream, iii. 2.

"Here he uses, not a word formed from the Latin, but the Latin word itself." — UPTON'S *Critical Observations*, p. 308.

Other forms of the superlative of *parvus* are used by him, in one instance with an entire Latin sentence:

"*Redime te captum quam queas minimo.*"

Taming of the Shrew, i. 1.

MODERN, from *modus*, mode; fashionable, common, trite.

"Where violent sorrow seems
A modern ecstasy."

Macbeth, iv. 3.

"Her infinite cunning, with her modern grace,
Subdued me to her rate."

All's Well, v. 3.

"And then the justice,
In fair round belly with good capon lined,
With eyes severe, and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances."

As You Like It, ii. 7.

MODESTY, from the same; *modus, modestia.*

"An excellent play, well digested in the scenes, set down with as much modesty as cunning." — *Hamlet*, ii. 2.

Modestia means fitness of things, a whole in which all the parts have their proper places and proportions. Equivalent to the Greek *εὐταξία.* Cicero used it with this signification in his *De Officiis;* but he found it so recondite that he felt obliged to explain its meaning to the Romans themselves.

MULTIPOTENT, from *multipotens*, very powerful.

"Jove multipotent."
Troilus and Cressida, iv. 5.

NASO, another Latin pun on the name of Ovidius Naso. *Nasus*, nose.

"Ovidius Naso was the man; and why, indeed, Naso, but for smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancy?"— *Love's Labor's Lost*, iv. 2.

NECESSARY, from *necessarius*, kinsman; anything pertaining to one's household; familiar, domestic.

"A harmless, necessary cat."
As You Like It, iii. 3.

OPPUGNANCY, from *ob-pugnare*, to fight against, to attack.
PROPUGNATION, from *pro-pugnare*, to fight for, or in behalf of.
REPUGNANCY, from *re-pugnare*, to fight back, to defend.

The author of the Plays uses these three Latin derivatives with nice discrimination, thus:

"Hark! what discord follows! Each thing meets
In mere [utter] oppugnancy."
Troilus and Cressida, i. 3.

That is, in absolute aggressiveness.

"*Paris.* For what, alas! can these my single arms?
What propugnation is in one man's valor,
To stand the push and enmity of those
This quarrel would excite?"
Ibid., ii. 2.

It is for Helen that Paris begs his brothers to fight.

> "Why do fond [foolish] men expose themselves to battle,
> And not endure all threats? sleep upon 't,
> And let the foes quietly cut their throats
> Without repugnancy?"
>
> *Timon of Athens*, iii. 5.

That is, without resistance.[1]

PALLIAMENT, from *pallium*, cloak.

> "This palliament of white and spotless hue."
>
> *Titus Andronicus*, i. 1.

PARTIAL, PARTIALLY, } from *pars*, part; disposed to partisanship.

> "A partial slander sought I to avoid,
> And in the sentence my own life destroyed."
>
> *Richard II.*, i. 3.

"Your lordship should affect their company whom you find to be worthiest, and not partially think them most worthy whom you affect." — BACON.

PERMISSION, from *per* (intensive) *-mittere*, to send away, to banish utterly.

"It [love] is merely [wholly] a lust of the blood and a permission of the will." — *Othello*, i. 3.

This is Shake-speare's definition of love; a passion from which the will is completely banished. A strict and very remarkable Latinism, first pointed out by Dr. R. M. Theobald.

PERT, from *aperire*, to open, implying skill; in a good sense.

> "Awake the pert and nimble spirit of mirth."
>
> *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, i. 1.

PLANT, from *planta*, meaning either a vegetable or the sole of the foot. Shake-speare bases a pun on this double meaning in Latin, as —

[1] See Baconiana, January, 1898, art. on 'Shake-speare's Use of Classic Phraseology,' by Dr. R. M. Theobald.

"*First Servant.* Here they 'll be, man. Some of their plants are ill-rooted already; the least wind i' the world will blow them down."—*Anthony and Cleopatra*, ii. 7.

This is said of Lepidus and others on board of Pompey's galley, who are intoxicated and therefore easily thrown from their feet.

PLAY, in the Latin sense of *ludere.*

"Go, play, boy, play; thy mother plays."
Winter's Tale, i. 2.

PROCURATOR, a Latin word, signifying governor.

"A procurator to your Excellence."
2 Henry VI., i. 1.

PRODITOR, another Latin word, signifying traitor.

"Thou most usurping proditor."
1 Henry VI., i. 3.

PRODUCTED, from *producere,* to produce.

"I must leave you;
It seems not meet nor wholesome to my place
To be producted, as if I stay I shall,
Against the Moor."
Othello, i. 1.

The commentators have without warrant changed the word to *produced.*

REMOTION, from *re-movere,* to move back.

"All thy safety were remotion."
Timon of Athens, iv. 3.

RESPECT, RESPECTIVE, RESPECTIVELY, } from *respicere,* to look back, to view in the light of the past; considerate, consideration.

"There 's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life."
Hamlet, iii. 1.

"Yet for your vehement oaths
You should have been respective."
Merchant of Venice, v. 1.

"Honest Flaminius, you are very respectively welcome, sir." — *Timon of Athens*, iii. 1.

"In sickness respect health." — BACON'S *Essay of Regimen of Health.*

SANCTUARIZE, from *sanctus*, holy.

"No place indeed should murder sanctuarize."
Hamlet, iv. 7.

Coined by Shake-speare.

SECURE, from *se* (sine)-*cura*, without care, careless.

"Open the door, secure foolhardy king."
Richard II., v. 3.

"Security is an ill guard for a kingdom." — *Bacon.*

SUBSCRIPTION, from *subscribere*, to write under, to be under obligations; allegiance.

"You owe me no subscription."
Lear, iii. 2.

TORTIVE, from *torquere*, to twist.

"Tortive and errant in his course of growth."
Troilus and Cressida, i. 3.

THRASONICAL, from *Thrasonianus;* Thraso, a braggart soldier in Terence's 'Eunuch.'

"His general behavior, vain, ridiculous and thrasonical."
Love's Labor's Lost, v. 1.

"Cæsar's thrasonical brag of 'I came, saw and overcame.'" — *As You Like It*, v. 2.

"Farmer asserts that the word was introduced in our language before Shakspere's time, but he furnishes no proof of this." — KNIGHT'S *Shakspere*, i. 112 *n.*

TOUCH, from *tangere*, as in the phrase, used by Terence, Plautus, Propertius, and others, *tangere virginem*, *tangere aliquam.*

"If I count more women, you 'll touch with more men."
Othello, iv. 3.

A strict Latinism. The editors of Shakespeare have ignorantly substituted the word *couch* for touch in this passage.

TRIPLE, from *triplus*, consisting of three, threefold.

> "On 's bed of death
> Many receipts he gave me; chiefly one,
> Which, as the dearest issue of his practice,
> And of his old experience the only darling,
> He bade me store up as a triple eye,
> Safer than mine own two, more dear."
> *All's Well that Ends Well*, ii. 1.

> "You shall see in him
> The triple pillar of the world."
> *Anthony and Cleopatra*, i. 1.

In these passages the word "triple" is a strict Latinism, no other use of it before or since, in the sense of *one of three*, being known in the English language. Ovid alludes to the Fates as spinning with triple thumb (*triplici pollice*), though but one of the sisters was supposed to use her thumb in the act.

VAST, from *vastus* (kindred with *vacuus*), empty, waste.

> "In the dead vast [void] and middle of the night."
> *Hamlet*, i. 2.

"Because their excursions into the limits of physical causes hath bred a vastness [vacancy] and solitude in that tract."—BACON'S *Advancement of Learning.*

II. LITERATURE

For Shake-speare's knowledge of classical literature the evidences are not less convincing, as the following examples, taken almost indiscriminately from a very large list, will show:

ÆSCHYLUS

MONEY, AN OX

Shake-speare:

> "He ne'er drinks,
> But Timon's silver treads upon his lip."
> *Timon of Athens*, iii. 2.

Æschylus:

"For the rest I am silent; a mighty ox hath trod upon my tongue."[1] — *Agamemnon.*

Æschylus uses the word "ox," as Shake-speare does the word "silver," as synonymous with money, to denote obligation. The first form of money was cattle, in consequence of which coins came to be stamped in after times with the figure of an ox. Shake-speare's use of the verb *tread* shows that he also had this circumstance in mind, while his weakening of the metaphor by substituting *silver* for *ox* would seem to imply a knowledge that Æschylus had already pre-appropriated it.

MANTLE OF ONE MURDERED SHOWN TO POPULACE

Shake-speare:

"*4 Citizen.* A ring! stand round!
Antony. You all do know this mantle; I remember
The first time ever Cæsar put it on.
Look! in this place ran Cassius' dagger through;
. . . . . .
See what a rent the envious Casca made!
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd;
And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of Cæsar follow'd it!"

Julius Cæsar, iii. 2.

Æschylus:

"Make a ring; spread the mantle out, and all behold it, that once covered the hero. . . It bears witness that the sword of Ægisthus has stained it, stained it with gore."[2] — *The Chœphori.*

LOCK OF HAIR, SACRED TO MEMORY

Shake-speare:

"Let but the commons hear this testament
(Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read),

---

[1] βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας
βέβηκεν·
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ, 36–37.

[2] ἐκτείνατ' αὐτον, καὶ κύκλῳ παρασταδὸν
στέγαστρον ἀνδρὸς δείξαθ'.
. . . . . μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι
φᾶρος τόδ', ὡς ἔβαψεν Αἰγίσθου ξίφος.
ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ, 981–82; 1009–10.

And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood;
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it, as a rich legacy,
Unto their issue."

Julius Cæsar, iii. 2.

Æschylus:

"*Orestes.* These locks of hair are consecrated, one to the god Inachus, and the other, as a memento of my grief."[1] — *Chœphori.*

The Greeks considered the hair so sacred that a lock of it was offered, as a religious rite on attainment of manhood, to the deity. Orestes, being now of age, complies with the custom, and at the same time with another lock expresses his filial sorrow for Agamemnon. For the same reason, the Romans, says Antony, would demand a "hair of Cæsar for memory."

BREAKING ILL TIDINGS

Shake-speare:

"This thou wouldst say, — 'your son did thus, and thus;
Your brother, thus; so fought the noble Douglas;'
Stopping my greedy ear with their bold deeds,
But in the end, to stop mine ear indeed,
Thou hast a sigh to blow away this praise,
Ending with — 'brother, son, and all are dead.'"

1 Henry IV., i. 1.

Æschylus:

"*Messenger.* Be of good cheer, this city hath escaped the yoke of servitude; the vauntings of our mighty foes have fallen; our city is calm, not admitting a leak from the many buffets of the surge; our fortifications too stand proof; and we have fenced our gates with champions fighting single-handed, and bringing surety; but the seventh —

Chorus. What new event?

Messenger. They have fallen —

Chorus. Who? What is it thou sayest? I am distracted with terror at thy tidings." — *The Seven against Thebes.*

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[1] πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον,
τὸν δεύτερον δὲ τόνδε πενθητήριον.
ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ, 6–7.

These are specimens of the same rhetorical device, to narrate the good first, in order to create a greater revulsion of feeling when the bad is told.

ENMITY CEASING AT DEATH

Shake-speare:

"Adieu, and take thy praise with thee to Heaven!
Thy ignominy sleep with thee in thy grave,
But not remember'd in thy epitaph."

1 Henry IV., v. 4.

Æschylus:

"Now I praise him, now upon the spot I bemoan him; I grieve for the offences and sufferings of the entire family."[1] — *The Chœphori.*

Prince Henry over the dead body of Hotspur whom he has killed, and Orestes over the dead body of Ægisthus whom he also has killed, utter the same sentiment, that at the death of an enemy, enmity itself should cease.

EXTENT OF LAND OWNED BY THE DEAD

Shake-speare:

"That blood, which ow'd[2] the breadth of all this isle,
Three foot of it doth hold."

King John, iv. 2.

Æschylus:

"Allotting them, now bereft of their large domains, as much land as they, dead, can occupy."[3] — *Seven against Thebes.*

PLEDGES IN BLOOD

Shake-speare:

"*Brutus.* Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers, Cassius;

. . . . . .

Let 's carve him as a dish fit for the gods.

. . . . . .

---

[1] νῦν αὐτὸν αἰνῶ, νῦν ἀποιμώζω παρών,
ἀλγῶ μὲν ἔργα καὶ πάθος γένος τε πᾶν.
ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ, 1012, 1014.

[2] In the sense of *owned.*

[3] χθόνα ναίειν διαπήλας,
ὁπόσαν καὶ φθιμένοισιν κατέχειν,
τῶν μεγάλων πεδίων ἀμοίρους.
ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ, 728–30.

Stoop, Romans, stoop,
And let us bathe our hands in Cæsar's blood,
Up to the elbows, and besmear our swords."
Julius Cæsar, ii. 1; iii. 1.

Æschylus:

"Seven valiant chiefs
Slew on the black-orb'd shield the victim bull,
And, dipping in the gore their furious hands,
In solemn oath attest the god of war."[1]
Seven against Thebes.

The murderers of Cæsar dipped not only their hands in his blood but their swords also. This too was in accordance with ancient usage. Xenophon tells us in his Anabasis that when the Greeks began their famous retreat from Persia, they made a sacrifice and pledged fidelity to one another in that way.

SHRINKING FROM MURDER

Shake-speare:

"*Macbeth.* We will proceed no farther in this business.
Lady Macbeth. Was the hope drunk
Wherein you dress'd yourself? hath it slept since,
And wakes it now, to look so green and pale
At what it did so freely? From this time,
Such I account your love. Art thou afeard
To be the same in thine own act and valor
As thou art in desire? Wouldst thou have that
Which thou esteem'st the ornament of life,
And live a coward?" *Macbeth*, i. 7.

Æschylus:

"*Ægisthus.* These words are the first parents of mourning.
Chorus. As if thou, forsooth, shouldst be King of the Argives! thou, that when thou hadst resolved on his destruction, dared not to do this deed by a stroke of thine own hand!"[2] — *Agamemnon.*

---

[1] ἄνδρες γὰρ ἑπτὰ θούριοι λοχαγέται,
ταυροσφαγοῦντες ἐς μελάνδετον σάκος
καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου,
Ἄρη τ' Ἐνυώ. ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ, 42–45.

[2] ὡς δὴ σύ μοί τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσει,
ὃς οὐκ', ἐπειδὴ τῷδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον,
δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως.
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ, 1633–35.

Lady Macbeth taunts her husband with cowardice, and confesses that but for a fancied resemblance of the sleeping victim to her own father she would have done the murderous deed herself. So the Chorus taunts Ægisthus also with cowardice, because he too shrinks from murder, the murder of King Agamemnon, and actually surrenders the fatal dagger to the hand of a woman.

COMMANDING THE WAVES

Shake-speare:

"You may as well go stand upon the beach,
And bid the main flood bate his usual height."

Merchant of Venice, iv. 1.

Æschylus:

"You affect me as much as you can the waves of the sea."[1]

Prometheus.

FATALISM IN NAMES

Shake-speare:

"*Soothsayer.* Thou, Leonatus, art the lion's whelp;
The fit and apt construction of thy name,
Being *Leo-natus,* doth import so much.
[*To Cymbeline.*
The piece of tender air, thy virtuous daughter,
Which we call *mollis aer;* and *mollis aer*
We term it *mulier;* which mulier, I divine,
Is this most constant wife; who, even now,
Answering the letter of the oracle,
Unknown to you, unsought, were clipp'd about
With this most tender air."

Cymbeline, v. 5.

Æschylus:

"Helen, the bride of the spear, and the object of strife, fitly styled, a *hell* to ships, a *hell* to men, a *hell* to cities."[2] — *Agamemnon.*

---

[1] ὀχλεῖς μάτην με κῦμ' ὅπως παρηγορῶν.
ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ, 1033.

[2] τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῆ θ'
Ἑλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως
ἐλέναυς, ἔλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις.
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ, 691–93.

Fatalism in names was an ancient superstition. Deriving the name of Helen from ἑλεῖν, to destroy, and using the stem of the verb as a prefix, Æschylus easily accounts for the disasters that befell the ships, the men, and the cities during the expedition undertaken for her recovery. Shake-speare makes use of the same artifice to find good omens in Cymbeline, as above. In 'Richard II.,' also, we have the same verbal play:

"*King Richard.* What comfort, man? how is 't with aged Gaunt?
Gaunt. O, how that name befits my composition!
Old Gaunt, indeed; and gaunt in being old.
Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast;
And who abstains from meat that is not gaunt?
The pleasure that some fathers feed upon
Is my strict fast, I mean my children's looks;
And therein fasting hast thou made me gaunt.
Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as a grave,
Whose hollow womb inherits nought but bones.
King Richard. Can sick men play so nicely with their names?"
ii. 1.

BIRD IN A BUSH

Shake-speare:

"The bird that hath been limed in a bush,
With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush."
3 Henry VI., v. 6.

Æschylus:

"No vain dread have I, like a bird in a bush, once before terrified."[1] — *Agamemnon.*

WARRING ELEMENTS AT PEACE

Shake-speare:

"The seas and winds, old wranglers, took a truce."
Troilus and Cressida, ii. 2.

Æschylus:

"Fire and water, hitherto hostile, make peace."[2] — *Agamemnon.*

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[1] οὗτοι δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβῳ
ἄλλως·
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ, 1315–16.

[2] Ξυνώμοσαν γὰρ, ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρὶν,
πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα.
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ, 655–56.

SENSE OF SIGHT

Shake-speare:

"I see a voice; now will I to the chink,
To spy an I can hear my Thisby's face."

Midsummer-Night's Dream, v. 1.

Æschylus:

"I will rivet thee to this uninhabited rock, where neither the voice nor the form of any mortal shalt thou see." [1] — *Prometheus Chained.*

The sense of sight was regarded by the ancient Greeks not only as the chief of the senses, but also, on occasions, as inclusive of them all. Shake-speare turns this mode of thinking (with which he, of course, was familiar) into a burlesque. Prof. Plumptre in his translation of the 'Prometheus' renders the verb ὄπτομαι by the English to know, rather than to see, and thus fails to catch the nice idiom of the passage.

GHOSTS

Shake-speare:

"*Queen.* To whom do you speak this?
Hamlet. Do you see nothing there?
Queen. Nothing at all.
Hamlet. Why, look you there! look, how it steals away!
[*Exit Ghost.*
Queen. This is the very coinage of your brain."

Hamlet, iii. 4.

Æschylus:

"*Orestes.* Oh, see, see!
Chorus. What fancies disturb thee?
Orestes. This is no fancy; I see the angry hell-hounds of my mother.
Chorus. The fresh blood upon thy hands has affected thy brain.
Orestes. Do you not see them? I see them." [2]

The Chœphori.

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[1] προσπασσαλεύσω τῷδ' ἀπανθρώπῳ πάγῳ,
ἵν' οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε του μορφὴν βροτῶν
ὄψει. ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ, 20–22.

[2] ΟΡ. ἆ, ἆ·
ΧΟ. τίνες σε δόξαι;
. . . . . .
ΟΡ. οὐκ εἰσὶ δόξαι τῶνδε πημάτων ἐμοί·
σαφῶς γὰρ αἵδε μητρὸς ἔγκοτοι κύνες.
ΧΟ. ποταίνιον γὰρ αἷμά σοι χεροῖν ἔτι.
ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι ταραγμὸς εἰς φρένας πίτνει.
. . . . . .
ΟΡ. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τάσδ', ἐγὼ δ' ὁρῶ.
ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ, 1046–59.

Æschylus is said to have been the first to introduce an apparition upon the stage. In 'Hamlet' the ghost makes several appearances, and on every occasion but one he is visible to all persons who are present. In the famous chamber-scene, however, the English author follows his Greek prototype. Hamlet and Orestes are both astonished to find that their respective visions are perceived by themselves alone.

The dramas of Æschylus were first printed in Latin in 1518, but not in English until 1777, or more than one hundred and fifty years after the time of Shakspere.

ANACREON

UNIVERSAL THEFT

Shake-speare:

"The sun 's a thief, and with his great attraction
Robs the vast sea; the moon 's an arrant thief,
And her pale fire she snatches from the sun;
The sea 's a thief, whose liquid surge resolves
The moon into salt tears; the earth 's a thief,
That feeds and breeds by a composture stolen
From general excrement."

Timon of Athens, iv. 3.

Anacreon:

"The fertile earth imbibes the rain,
And trees her moisture drink again;
The swelling ocean drinks the gales;
From him the thirsty sun exhales;
The moon, as thirsty, copious streams
Insatiate drinks of solar beams."[1] *Ode* xx.

---

[1] Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει,
Πίνει δὲ δένδρε' αὖ γῆν.
Πίνει θάλασσ' ἀναύρους,
Ὁ δ' ἥλιος θάλασσαν,
Τὸν δ' ἥλιον σελήνη.
Τί μοι μάχεσθ', ἑταῖροι,
Καὐτῷ θέλοντι πίνειν;
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΙΝ ΠΙΝΕΙΝ.

WAR WITHIN AND WITHOUT

Shake-speare:

"I'll unarm again;
Why should I war without the walls of Troy,
That find such cruel battle here within?"
Troilus and Cressida, i. 1.

Anacreon:

"In vain have I a shield;
Why should I war without,
When the battle rages within?"[1] *Ode* xi.

Anacreon's Greek odes were published, Græcè et Latinè, in 1554; also in French in 1585; but no English version of them appeared in print until 1651, or twenty-eight years after date of the first Shake-speare folio.

ARISTOPHANES

CLOUDS TAKING VARIOUS SHAPES

Shake-speare:

"*Hamlet.* Do you see yonder cloud, that's almost in shape of a camel?

Polonius. By the mass, and 'tis like a camel, indeed.

Hamlet. Methinks it is like a weasel.

Polonius. It is back'd like a weasel.

Hamlet. Or like a whale.

Polonius. Very like a whale." *Hamlet*, iii. 2.

Aristophanes:

"*Socrates.* Have you ever, when you looked up, seen a cloud like to a centaur, or a panther, or a wolf, or a bull?

Strepsiades. By Jupiter, have I! But what of that?

Socrates. They become all things, whatever they please."[2] — *The Clouds.*

---

[1] Τί γὰρ βαλώ μιν ἔξω,
Μάχης ἔσω μ' ἐχούσης;
ΕΙΣ ΕΡΩΤΑ.

[2] Σώκρατης.
ἤδη ποτ' ἀναβλέψας εἶδες νεφέλην κενταύρῳ ὁμοίαν;
ἢ παρδάλει, ἢ λύκῳ, ἢ ταύρῳ;
Στ. νὴ Δί', ἔγωγ'; εἶτα τί τοῦτο;
Σώκρατης.
γίγνονται πάνθ' ὅ τι βούλονται·
ΝΕΦΕΛΑΙ, 346–48.

BLOWS WITH FOOD, A SAUCE

Shake-speare:

"*Fluellen.* I will desire you to live in the meantime, and eat your victuals. Come, there is sauce for it [*striking him*]." — *Henry V.*, v. 1.

Aristophanes:

"If I come back again, having prospered well, you shall have in due season a roll of bread and fist-sauce to it."[1] — *Peace.*

No English version of the works of Aristophanes existed until long after Shake-speare's time.

ST. AUGUSTINE

EFFECT AND DEFECT

Shake-speare:

"*Polonius.* Now, to know the cause of this effect,
Or else to say, the cause of this defect,
For this effect defective comes by cause."
Hamlet, ii. 2.

St. Augustine:

"Let no one ask of me the effective cause of voluntary evil; for the cause is not effective, but defective; it is not an effect at all."[2] — *De Civitate Dei*, xii. 7.

The *De Civitate Dei* was translated into English for the first time twenty-four years after the play of 'Hamlet' was produced. Bacon was perfectly familiar with it. His mother was distinguished among her contemporaries as a theologian, and especially for her knowledge of the Christian fathers, some of whose writings she translated for publication. And Sir Toby Matthew, Bacon's literary friend and inquisitor, made an English translation of St. Augustine's 'Confessions' in Bacon's lifetime, and probably with Bacon's help.

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[1] ἦν δ' ἐγὼ εὖ πράξας ἔλθω πάλιν, ἕξετ ἐν ὥρᾳ
κολλύραν μεγάλην καὶ κόνδυλον ὄψον ἐπ' αὐτῇ.
ΕΙΡΗΝΗ, 122–23.

[2] *Nemo igitur quærat efficientem causam malæ voluntatis; non enim est efficiens, sed deficiens; quia nec illa effectio est, sed defectio.*

CATULLUS

BOURN WHENCE NO TRAVELLER RETURNS

Shake-speare:

"The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns."[1]

Hamlet, iii. 1.

Catullus:

"The dark journey whence they say no one returns."[1]

TO DEVOUR THE WAY

Shake-speare:

"He seemed in running to devour the way."

2 Henry IV., i. 1.

Catullus:

"If he be wise, he will devour the way."[2]

WIFE OR MAID

Shake-speare:

"I am your wife, if you will marry me;
If not, I 'll die your maid; to be your fellow
You may deny me; but I 'll be your servant."

Tempest, iii. 1.

Catullus:

"If our marriage had not been agreeable to you, you could have taken me to your home, where, as your maid, I would cheerfully have served you."[3]

COMPOSITE WOMAN

Shake-speare:

"Nature made all graces dear,
When she did starve the general world beside,
And prodigally gave them all to you."

Love's Labor's Lost, ii. 1.

---

[1] *Qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum*
Illuc, unde negant redire quemquam.

The same idea is found in Sandford's version (1569) of Cornelius Agrippa.

[2] *Quare, si sapiet, viam vorabit.*

[3] *Si tibi non cordi fuerant connubia nostra,*
Attamen in vestras potuisti ducere sedes,
Quæ tibi jucundo famularer serva labore,
Candida permulcens liquidis vestigia lymphis,
Purpureave tuum consternens veste cubile.

Catullus:

"She is most beautiful of all, having stolen all graces from all others."[1] — *Epigram* 87.

The writings of Catullus were first translated into English in 1795, or nearly two centuries after Shake-speare's time.

CICERO

EXHALATIONS FROM THE EARTH

Shake-speare:

"The exhalations, whizzing in the air,
Give so much light that I may read by them."

Julius Cæsar, ii. 1.

Cicero:

"The opinion of the Stoics on this point is, that the exhalations of the earth, which are cold when they begin to flow abroad, become winds; and when they form themselves into clouds and begin to divide and break up their fine particles by repeated and vehement gusts, heat is emitted, and there is lightning." — *Of Divination.*

Cicero's work on Divination had not been translated into English in the time of Shake-speare.

ERASMUS

YOUNG MEN AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Shake-speare:

"Young men whom Aristotle thought
Unfit to hear moral philosophy."

Troilus and Cressida, ii. 2.

Erasmus:

"Young men whom Aristotle accounted not to be fit auditors of moral philosophy."[2] — *Colloquia.*

No English translation of the 'Colloquies' of Erasmus appeared till 1671.

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[1] *quæ cùm pulcherrima tota est,*
Tum omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres.

[2] *Irrepens in animos adolescentium quos recte scripsit Aristoteles inidoneos ethicæ philosophiæ.* — *De Colloquiorum Utilitate.*

It is very remarkable that Prof. Jowett in his admirable edition of Plato's works should also have ascribed this solecism to Aristotle. He says: "Accord-

EURIPIDES

HECUBA'S REVENGE

Shake-speare:

"The self-same gods that arm'd the Queen of Troy,
With opportunity of sharp revenge
Upon the Thracian tyrant in her tent,
May favor Tamora."

Titus Andronicus, i. 1.

Euripedes:

"I will speak then. Hecuba, when she had discovered her son's death, treacherously lured me hither, and introduced me alone with my sons into the tent. There I sat, reclining on the centre of the couch; but many Trojan damsels, some on the left and some on the right, gathered round me as a friend, holding in their hands the Edonian looms, and praising these robes that shone in the light. The mothers among them caressed my children in their arms in seeming admiration, at the same time removing the little ones farther from their parent, and passing them from one to another; and then, amidst their kind blandishments, what think you? In an instant, snatching daggers from beneath their garments, they stab my children to death. Then they seize me, hold my feet and hands, and, when I raise my head to behold my children, pull me back by the hair. At last, cruelty and worse than cruelty! they take their clasps and pierce my eyes; and then they vanish in flight."[1] — *Hecuba.*

PITY

Shake-speare:

"He 's here in double trust;
First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
Who should against his murderer shut the door,
Not bear the knife myself.
Pity . . . shall blow the deed in every eye."

Macbeth, i, 7.

---

ing to Plato, a young man is not fit to be a judge, as, according to Aristotle, he is not fit to be a hearer of moral philosophy." (ii. 38.)

Aristotle wrote:

Διὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖος ἀκροατὴς ὁ νέος. — *Nicomachean Ethics*, i, 3.

The origin of the error [moral, instead of political philosophy] is, of course, in Erasmus.

[1] "This [reading] we may learn from Euripides's 'Hecuba;' the only author that I can at present remember from whom our writer must have glean'd this circumstance." — LEWIS THEOBALD, *Works of Shakespeare*, v. 312 (1733).

Euripides:

"*Orestes.* What shall we do? Our mother shall we kill?
Electra. On seeing her hath pity seiz'd thy heart?
Orestes. She bore me, bred me; how shall I slay her?"
Electra.[1]

Macbeth hesitates to kill his sovereign on account (in part) of the ties of kindred existing between them; Orestes also hesitates for the same reason to murder Clytemnestra, pity being the sentiment excited in each case. At the last moment Clytemnestra appealed to her son's pity.

VIEWING A PROCESSION OF WARRIORS

Shake-speare:

"*Pandarus.* Here's an excellent place; here we may see most bravely; I'll tell you all by their names, as they pass by.

Cressida. Speak not so loud. [*Æneas passes over.*

Pandarus. That's Æneas; is not that a brave man? He's one of the flowers of Troy, I can tell you. [*Antenor passes over.*

Cressida. Who's that?

Pandarus. That's Antenor; he has a shrewd wit, I can tell you; and he's a man good enough; he's one of the soundest judgments in Troy. [*Hector passes over.*

Pandarus. That's Hector, that, that, look you, that; there's a fellow! Go thy way, Hector! There's a brave man. [*Paris passes over.*] Yonder comes Paris; look ye yonder, niece; is 't not a gallant man too? [*Helenus passes over.*

Cressida. Who's that?

Pandarus. That's Helenus.

Cressida. Can Helenus fight, uncle?

Pandarus. Helenus is a priest."

Troilus and Cressida, i. 2.

Euripides:

"*Old Retainer.* Antigone, mount the ancient cedar steps, and view the plains to see the mighty host of foemen. . . . Mark him who cometh first, if thou wouldst learn his name.

---

[1] ΟΡ. τί δῆτα δρῶμεν; μητέρ' ἢ φονεύσομεν;
ΗΛ. μῶν σ' οἶκτος εἷλε, μητρὸς ὡς εἶδες δέμας;
ΟΡ. φεῦ.
πῶς γὰρ κτάνω νιν, ἥ μ' ἔθρεψε κἄτεκεν;
ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ, 967–970.

Antigone. Who is that with the white crest?

Old Ret. Mycenæ claims him for her son, the prince Hippomedon.

Antig. Ah! how proud and terrible his mien!

Old Ret. Dost see yon chieftain crossing Dirce's stream?

Antig. His harness is quite different. Who is that?

Old Ret. Tideus, the son of Œneus; true Ætolian spirit fires his breast.

Antig. Who is that youth passing close to the tomb of Zethus, with long flowing hair, but a look of fury in his eye?

Old Ret. That is Parthenopæus, Atalanta's son.

Antig. Who is that on yonder car, driving snow-white steeds?

Old Ret. That is the prophet [priest] Amphiaraus."

The Phœnician Maidens, 100–173.

In both of the above passages parts of the original dialogues are omitted, our object being simply to show identity of conception. Each dramatist places his heroine on an elevation whence she views the field, and whence the principal chieftains, their characters and achievements, are pointed out to her by an attendant. In each case a priest closes the list.

VALOR AND DISCRETION

Shake-speare:

"*Falstaff.* The better part of valor is discretion."—*1 Henry IV.*, v. 4.

Euripides:

"To my mind discretion is valor."[1]—*The Suppliants.*

IN THE MIND'S EYE

Shake-speare:

"*Hamlet.* My father—methinks, I see my father.

Horatio. O, where, my lord?

Hamlet. In my mind's eye, Horatio."

Hamlet, i. 2.

Euripides:

"Methinks I see thee still, my father, before my eyes."[2]—*The Suppliants.*

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[1] *καὶ τοῦτό μοι τἀνδρεῖον, ἡ προμηθία.*

ΙΚΕΤΙΔΕΣ, 510.

[2] *ἔτ' εἰσορᾶν σε, πάτερ, ἐπ' ὀμμάτων δοκῶ.*

ΙΚΕΤΙΔΕΣ, 1154.

Arthur S. Way translates metrically,—

"O father mine, methinks I see thee now."

A LOST WIFE REAPPEARING AS A STATUE

Shake-speare:

"*Leontes.* Her natural posture!
Chide me, dear stone, that I may say, indeed,
Thou art Hermione. . . .
O, thus she stood,
Even with such life of majesty. O royal piece,
There 's magic in thy majesty. . . .
Paulina. If you can behold it,
I 'll make the statue move indeed, descend
And take you by the hand; but then you 'll think
(Which I protest against) I am assisted
By wicked powers.
Leontes. O! she 's warm. [*Embracing her.*
If this be magic, let it be an art
Lawful as eating.
Polixenes. She embraces him.
Camillo. See hangs about his neck,
If she pertain to life, let her speak too.
Polixenes. Ay, and make it manifest where she has lived,
Or, how stol'n from the dead."

Winter's Tale, v. 3.

Euripides:

"*Admetus* [*Alcestis restored to life and brought in veiled*]. Thou, lady, whosoe'er thou art, believe me, art the very counterfeit presentment of Alcestis, the picture of her form; ah me! O take this maiden, I conjure thee, from my sight. Slay me not, already slain. For in her I seem once more to see my wife; and my heart is darkly troubled, and the fountains of my eyes are loosed. Ah, woe is me! Now do I taste the bitterness of my grief. Would I were dead!

Heracles. Thou hast lost a noble wife; who shall gainsay it?

Admetus. Life henceforth has lost all charm for me.

Heracles [*removes the veil*]. Look well at her, if haply to thy gaze she have a resemblance to thy wife; and now that thou art blest, cease from sorrowing.

Admetus. Great gods, what shall I say? A marvel past all hope is here. My wife, my own true wife, do I behold thee whom I buried? O noble son of almighty Zeus, how didst thou bring her up from the world below? . . . But why thus speechless stands my wife?"

Alcestis, 1061–1143.

Shake-speare even goes to one of the plays of Euripides for the name of Hermione, the heroine of the 'Winter's Tale.'

LEAPING INTO A LOVER'S GRAVE

Shake-speare:

"*Hamlet.* This is I,
Hamlet the Dane. [*Leaping into the grave.*
Laertes. The devil take thy soul. [*Grappling with him.*
Hamlet. Thou pray'st not well.
I pr'ythee, take thy fingers from my throat.
. . . . . .
Dost thou come here, to whine?
To outface me with leaping in her grave?
Be buried quick with her, and so will I.
And, if thou prate of mountains, let them throw
Millions of acres on us."

Hamlet, v. 1.

Euripides:

"Why didst thou hinder me from throwing myself into her open grave, there to lay me down and die with her, my beloved?"[1]—*Alcestis.*

IMPOSITION OF THE DEVIL

Shake-speare:

"The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil; . . . and perhaps
Abuses me to damn me."

Hamlet, ii. 2.

Euripides:

"Perhaps the devil in the form of a god may have given the command."[2]

Both Hamlet and Orestes, having received commands from the spirit world to avenge each the death of his father, express a fear that after all it may be the devil that is imposing upon them.

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[1] *τί μ' ἐκώλυσας ῥῖψαι τύμβου*
τάφρον ἐς κοίλην, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνης
τῆς μέγ' ἀρίστης κεῖσθαι φθίμενον·
ΑΛΚΗΣΤΙΣ, 897–99.

[2] *Ἆρ' αὖτ' ἀλάστωρ εἶπ' ἀπεικασθεὶς θεῷ.*
ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ, 979.

HOPE

Shake-speare:

Duke. O, then you hope of pardon from Lord Angelo?

Claudio. The miserable have no other medicine,
But only hope.
I have hope to live, and am prepar'd to die.

Duke. Be absolute for death [entertain no hope]; either death or life
Shall thereby be the sweeter."

Measure for Measure, iii. 1.

Euripides.

"Hope is the worst of human ills." [1]

The Suppliants.

MERCY

Shake-speare:

"Mercy but murders, pardoning those that kill."

Romeo and Juliet, iii. 1.

"Nothing emboldens sin so much as mercy."

Timon of Athens, iii. 5.

Euripides:

"Mercy is not for ill-doers." [2]

The plays of Euripides were popular with translators at a very early date, the *Phœnissæ* (under the title of *Jocasta*) having been put on the boards at Gray's Inn in London in 1566 and printed in English in 1587; but none from which we have above quoted had this distinction until after the time of Shake-speare.

ST. GREGORY

FRIENDSHIP

Shake-speare:

"We, Hermia, like two artificial gods,
Have with our needles created both one flower,
Both on one sampler, sitting on one cushion,
Both warbling of one song, both in one key,
As if our hands, our sides, voices and minds,
Had been incorporate."

Midsummer-Night's Dream, iii. 2.

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[1] ἐλπὶς βροτοῖς κάκιστον.

ΙΚΕΤΙΔΕΣ, 479.

[2] Ὀυ τῶν κακοῦργων οἶκτος.

Gregory Nazianzen:

> "Sharing the same work and talk,
> Living under one roof and by one fireside,
> Both of one mind."[1]

Gregory's Autobiography, containing the above, was printed in the original Greek with a Latin translation in 1504; no version in English to this day.

HERODOTUS

PERIANDER IN A FIELD OF CORN

Shake-speare:

> "Go thou, and like an executioner,
> Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,
> That look too lofty in our commonwealth."
>
> *Richard II.*, iii. 4.

Herodotus:

"Periander having sent a message to Thrasybulus, asking in what manner he could best govern the city, Thrasybulus took the person bearing it into a field of standing corn, and, while walking therein, silently cut off the heads of the highest stalks. He then dismissed the messenger."[2]

Herodotus' work, though written in Greek, was first printed in Latin in 1474; in Greek in 1502; but not in English (fifth book, quoted above) until 1709.

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[1] πόνοι κοινοὶ λόγων,
Ὁμόστεγος τε καὶ συνέστιος βίος,
Νοῦς εἷς ἐν ἀμφοῖν . . . .
Διεσκέδασται πάντα, κἄρριπται χαμαί.
Αὖραι φέρουσι τὰς παλαιὰς ἐλπίδας.

[2] *Misso enim præcone, Thrasybulum interrogavit qua ratione ipse rebus tutius constitutis, civitatem pulcherrime gubernaret. Thrasybulus, eo qui à Periandro missus erat, extra oppidum educto, ingressus est rus quoddam satum, et una cum eo segetem interambulans, scisciitabatur hominem de suo adventu è Corintho, detruncans atque abjiciens ut quamque videbat spicam inter alias extantem, donec segetem formosissimam atque densissimam hunc in modum corrupit; prædiumque illud pervagatus, nullo verbo reddito præconem remisit.* — *Terpsichore, Lib. V.*

The same story is told also by Diogenes Laertius, whose work, likewise written in Greek, was printed, Græcè et Latinè, in 1475. First English version in 1688. Livy tells a similar story of Tarquin the Proud and his son Sextus.

HOMER

DRUG CAUSING FORGETFULNESS

Shake-speare:

"Can'st thou . . . with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?" *Macbeth*, v. 3.

Homer:

"The oblivious drug, causing forgetfulness of all ills."[1] — *Od.*, δ 221.

"Had Shakespeare understood Greek as well as Jonson, he could not more closely have expressed the meaning of the old bard." — UPTON'S *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*, p. 57.

HORACE

METHOD IN MADNESS

Shake-speare:

"Though this be madness, yet there is method in 't."
Hamlet, ii. 2.

Horace:

"He seems to be insane with some deliberation and method."[2]

THE STORMY ADRIATIC

Shake-speare:

"Were she as rough
As are the swelling Adriatic seas."
Taming of the Shrew, i. 2.

Horace:

"Though more passionate than the stormy Adriatic."[3]

LOVED AFTER DEATH

Shake-speare:

"I shall be lov'd when I am lack'd."
Coriolanus, iv. 1.

"She 's good, being gone."
Anthony and Cleopatra, i. 2.

Horace:

"He will be loved, being dead."[4]

Horace's Satires, Epistles, and the 'Art of Poetry,' were first printed in an English translation in 1566–67; a few of his

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[1] Νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων.
[2] *Insanire paret certa ratione modoque.*
[3] *Improbo iracundior Adria.*
[4] *Extinctus amabitur idem.*

selected Odes in 1621; but a complete edition of his Odes and Epodes not until 1625, or two years after publication of the first Shake-speare folio.

JUVENAL

BEARS

Shake-speare:

"The two bears will not bite one another when they meet."

Much Ado, iii. 2.

"One bear will not bite another."

Troilus and Cressida, v. 7.

Juvenal:

"Savage bears are peaceful among themselves."[1]

AGED MEN

Shake-speare:

"The satirical rogue says here that old men have grey beards, that their faces are wrinkled, their eyes purging thick amber and plum-tree gum, and that they have a plentiful lack of wit, together with most weak hams." — *Hamlet*, ii. 2.

Juvenal:

"With what unremitting and grievous ills is old age crowded! First of all, its face is hideous, loathsome, and altered from its former self; instead of skin, an ugly hide and flaccid cheeks, and, see! such wrinkles!

"One man weak in the shoulder; another in the loins; another in the hip. Another still has lost both eyes and envies the one-eyed.

"But worse than all debility of limb is that idiocy which recollects neither the names of his slaves, nor the face of the friend with whom he supped the evening before; nor even those whom he begot and brought up."[2]

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[1] *Sævis inter se convenit ursis.*

[2] *Quantis longa senectus*
Plena malis; deformem, et tetrum ante omnia vultum
Dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem,
Pendentesque genas, et tales adspice rugas!
. . . . . .
Ille humero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis, ambos
Perdidit ille oculos, et luscis invidet.
. . . . . .
Sed omni
Membrorum damno major dementia; quæ nec
Nomina servorum, nec vultum agnoscit amici,
Cum quo præterita cœnavit nocte, nec illos
Quos genuit, quos eduxit. *Satyra* x.

Juvenal's tenth satire, containing the above criticism on old age, was paraphrased and printed in English in 1617; the fifth translated and printed in 1629; the first two in 1634; the first six in 1644; and all in 1647; but not one before 'Hamlet' was written.

LUCIAN

TIMON, THE MISANTHROPE

From Shake-speare	*From Lucian*
"*Timon.* I am *Misanthropos* and hate mankind." iv. 3.	"*Timon.* My sweetest name is Misanthropos."[1]
"*2 Lord.* Plutus, the god of gold, is but his steward." i. 1.	"*Jupiter.* Hermes, take Plutus and go to Timon quickly; let Plutus carry treasure and stay with him."[2]
"*Timon.* Numberless, upon me stuck as leaves Do on the oak, have with one winter's brush Fell from their boughs, and left me open, bare, For every storm that blows." iv. 3.	"*Hermes.* They have gone away, leaving him withered and cut up by the roots."[3]
"*Timon.* How shall she be endow'd, If she be mated with an equal husband?	"*Timon.* This man, in a word, received from me a piece of land and two talents, as a dowry for his daughter."[4]
Old Athenian. Three talents on the present; in future, all.	
Timon. This gentleman of mine hath serv'd me long; To build his fortune I will strain a little,	

[1] Καὶ ὄνομα μὲν ἔστω ὁ Μισάνθρωπος ἥδιστον.

[2] Ὅμως δὲ τὸν Πλοῦτον, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, παραλαβὼν ἄπιθι παρ' αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος· ἀγέτω δὲ ὁ Πλοῦτος καὶ τὸν Θησαυρὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ μενέτωσαν ἄμφω παρὰ τῷ Τίμωνι·

[3] ᾤχοντο αὖον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς ῥίζας ὑποτετμημένον ἀπολιπόντες.

[4] Οὗτος δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀγρὸν ὅλον λαβὼν καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ προῖκα δύο τάλαντα.

For 't is a bond in men. Give him thy daughter;
What you bestow, in him I'll counterpoise,
And make him weigh with her."
i. 1.

"*1 Lord.* Come, shall we in,
And taste Lord Timon's bounty?
2 Lord. He pours it out."
i. 1.

"*Timon* [*digging*]. What is here?
Gold? yellow, glittering, precious gold?"

"*Apemantus.* Yonder comes a poet. . . .
Poet. I am thinking what I shall say I have provided for him; it must be a personating of himself; a satire against the softness of prosperity."
v. 1.

"*Timon.* Away!
Thou tedious rogue! I am sorry I shall lose
A stone by thee."
[*Throws a stone at him.*
iv. 3.

"*Timon.* Out, rascal dogs."
[*Beats them out.*
v. 1.

"*Plutus.* Will he ever stop, draining me, as it were, out of a basket full of holes, before I am fully flowed in?"[1]

"*Timon* [*digging*]. O Jupiter, whence so much gold? Really it is gold, coined, yellow, heavy and sweet to the eyes."[2]

"*Gnathonides.* I have come to bring you a brand new ode of the lately presented dithyrambs."[3]

"*Timon.* Shall I ascend this hill and drive them away with stones?"[4]

"*Demeas.* What on earth does this mean? Are you aiming at tyranny? Do you beat free citizens?[5]
Timon. Then take another blow.
Demeas. Oh, my back!"

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[1] Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πότε παύσεται ὥσπερ ἐκ κοφίνου τετρυπημένου, πρὶν ὅλως εἰσρυῆναί με, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξαντλῶν.

[2] ὦ Ζεῦ . . . τοσοῦτον πόθεν χρυσίον; . . . ἀλλὰ μὴν χρυσίον ἐστὶν ἐπίσημον, ὑπέρυθρον, βαρύ, καὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν ὑπερήδιστον.

[3] ὡς καινόν τί σοι ᾆσμα τῶν νεοδιδάκτων διθυράμβων ἥκω κομίζων.

[4] πότερον οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν πάγον τοῦτον ἀναβὰς ἀπελαύνω αὐτοὺς τοῖς λίθοις.

[5] Οἴμοι, τί τοῦτο; τυραννίδι, Τίμων, ἐπιχειρεῖς καὶ τύπτεις τοὺς ἐλευθέρους.

The story of Timon was partly accessible to English readers in Shake-speare's time in Plutarch's 'Life of Antonius' and Painter's 'Palace of Pleasure;' but in neither of these works were recorded any of the incidents given in the above series of parallelisms. The dramatist must have found them either in a Latin version of Lucian's 'Dialogues' or in the original Greek. No other source was open to him.

"There can be no doubt, we think, that a great resemblance may be traced between the Greek satirist and the English dramatist. The false friends of Timon are much more fully described by Lucian than by Plutarch. The finding the gold is the same; the rejection of it by the Timon of Shakspere is essentially the same; the poet of the play was perhaps suggested by the flatterer who came with the new ode; the senator with his gratulations is not very different from the senators in the drama; the blows and stones are found both in the ancient and the modern. There are minor similarities which might be readily traced, if we believed that Shakspere had gone direct to Lucian." — KNIGHT'S *Shakspere*, iii. 340.

LUCRETIUS

MYSTERIES IN HEAVEN AND EARTH

Shake-speare:

"There are more things iu heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

Hamlet, i. 5.

Lucretius:

"We see in heaven and earth many things for which we cannot possibly account." [1]

The first book of Lucretius was translated into English and printed in 1658; his entire work in 1682, or nearly one hundred years after the date of 'Hamlet.'

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[1] *Quod multa in terris fieri, cœloque tuentur,*
Quorum operum causas nullâ ratione videre
Possunt. *Lib.* I., v. 152.

"This reflexion of Hamlet seems to be directly copied from Lucretius." — LEWIS THEOBALD, *Works of Shakespeare*, vii. 257.

MANTUANUS

FAUSTE, PRECOR GELIDA

Shake-speare :

"*Fauste, precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbrâ Ruminat,* — and so forth. Ah, good old Mantuan!" — *Love Labor 's Lost*, iv. 2.

Mantuanus :

"*Fauste, precor gelida quādo pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat, antiquos paulum recitemus amores.*" — *Ecloga Prima.*

"The good old Mantuan was Joh. Baptist Mantuanus, a Carmelite whose Eclogues were translated into English by George Turbervile in 1567. His first Eclogue commences with *Fauste, precor gelida;* and Farnaby, in his preface to Martial, says that pedants thought more highly of the *Fauste, precor gelida* than of the *Arma virumque cano.* Here, again, the unlearned Shakspere hits the mark when he meddles with learned matters." — KNIGHT'S *Shakspere*, i. 104.

MARIANUS

CUPID'S TORCH

Shake-speare :

"The little Love-god, lying once asleep,
Laid by his side his heart-inflaming brand,
Whilst many nymphs that vow'd chaste life to keep,
Came tripping by; but in her maiden hand
The fairest votary took up that fire
Which many legions of true hearts had warm'd;
. . . . . .
This brand she quenched in a cool well by,
Which from Love's fire took heat perpetual,
Growing a bath and healthful remedy
For men diseas'd." *Sonnet* 154.

Marianus :

"Here under the plane-trees, Love, having placed his torch by the Nymphs, and been overpowered by gentle slumber, was sleeping. Then said the Nymphs to one another, 'Why do we delay? Would that we could put out, together with this, the fire in the heart of mortals.' But as the torch inflamed also the waters, the Love-nymphs from thence draw warm water for their bath."[1] — *Palatine Anthology*, ix. 627.

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[1] Τῷδ ὑπὸ τὰς πλατάνους ἀπαλῷ τετρυμένος ὕπνῳ
εὗδεν Ἔρως, νύμφαις λαμπάδα παρθέμενος·
Νύμφαι δ' ἀλλήλησι, τί μέλλομεν, αἴθε δε τούτῳ
σβέσσαμεν, εἶπον, ὁμοῦ πῦρ κραδίης μερόπων.
Λαμπὰς δ' ὡς ἔφλεξε καὶ ὕδατα, θερμὸν ἐκεῖθεν
Νύμφαι Ἐρωτιάδες λουτροχοεῦσιν ὕδωρ.

The above epigram from the Anthology by Marianus was translated from the original Greek into Latin and printed in the sixteenth century; it has only recently been translated into English. It was not known, in Greek or Latin even, by Shake-spearean editors or commentators until 1878, or two hundred and sixty-nine years after Shake-speare had copied and published it from Marianus.

OVID

LOVERS' PERJURIES

Shake-speare:

"At Lovers' perjuries
They say Jove laughs."

Romeo and Juliet, ii. 2.

Ovid:

"Jove from on high laughs at lovers' perjuries."[1]

The above quotation from Ovid is taken from the 'Art of Love,' first printed in the English language in 1599. The play of 'Romeo and Juliet' was printed in 1597.[2]

CASTALIAN WATERS

Shake-speare:

"*Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo*
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua."

Venus and Adonis.

Ovid:

Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castaliæ plena ministret aquæ.

Amores, i., xv. 35.

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[1] *Jupiter ex alto perjuria ridet amantum.*

Ars Amatoria, i. 633.

"This remark our poet probably borrowed from Ovid, or else from Tibullus, who has the same sentiment:

'*Perjuria ridet amantum*
Jupiter, et ventos irrita ferre jubet.'"

LEWIS THEOBALD, *Works of Shakespeare*, vii. 155.

The elegies of Tibullus were first put in English dress in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

[2] Mention is made of a black letter edition of the 'Art of Love,' 1513, but nothing is known of it.

The 'Venus and Adonis' was first printed in 1593, at which time Ovid's 'Amores' had not been translated into English. Jonson afterwards gave the following version of the lines quoted from it in the original by Shake-speare:

> "Kneel, hinds, to trash: me let bright Phœbus swell,
> With cups full flowing from the Muses' well."

Of this Latin motto, heading the 'Venus and Adonis,' Prof. Baynes says: "it is one which from the circumstances of the case could hardly have been chosen by one who did not know the original well." — *Shakespeare Studies*, 107.

Marlowe, who died in 1592, also translated the 'Amores,' but his work remained in MS. for many years after his death.

Shake-speare perpetrates a pun on Ovid's name, and another on that of the tribe of Goths among whom he was exiled. See pages 149, 164.

NAME OF TITANIA

Shake-speare:

> "How canst thou thus for shame, Titania?"
>
> *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, ii. 1.

Ovid:

> "While there Titania bathes, as was her wont."
>
> *Metamorphoses.*

On the name 'Titania,' as used in the 'Midsummer-Night's Dream,' Prof. Baynes comments as follows:

"The important point to be noted is, that Shakespeare clearly derived it from his study of Ovid in the original. It must have struck him in reading the text of the *Metamorphoses*, as it is not to be found in the only translation which existed in his day. Golding [1565], instead of transferring the term Titania, always translates it in the case of Diana by the phrase 'Titan's Daughter,' and in the case of Circe by the line: 'Of Circe, who by long descent of Titan's stocke am borne.' Shakespeare could not therefore have been indebted to Golding for the happy selection. On the other hand, in the next translation of the *Metamorphoses* by Sandys, first published ten years after Shakespeare's death, Titania is freely used. . . . It is clear therefore, I think, that Shakespeare not only studied

the *Metamorphoses* in the original, but that he read the different stories with a quick and open eye for any name, incident, or allusion, that might be available for use in his own dramatic labours." — *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 212.

Another proof that Shakespeare in some instances went directly to the Latin original of Ovid's work, instead of Golding's translation of it, is found in the drama of 'Macbeth.' It is in the scene of the cave to which Macbeth has come for another interview with the witches. The scene opens thus:

"*1 Witch.* Thrice the brinded cat hath mewed.
2 Witch. Thrice and once, the hedge-pig whin'd.
3 Witch. Harpier cries: — 't is time, 't is time." iv. 1.

The signal for the operations to begin is thus given by Harpier, one of the hounds in Actæon's pack, named by Ovid in his story of the fable. But Golding in his translation of Ovid converts the Latin names of these animals into their English equivalents, this particular dog being called in his version *Greedigut*. The author of the play adopted the Latin name.

"Our poet shews his great knowledge in antiquity in making the dog give the signal." — UPTON'S *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*, p. 170.

PARMENIDES

TO BE OR NOT TO BE

Shake-speare:

"To be or not to be, that is the question." *Hamlet*, iii. 1.

Parmenides:

"To be or not to be, that is the alternative." [1]

Parmenides wrote in Greek, but his poem was not translated into any other language, not even into Latin, until two hundred years after 'Hamlet' was written.

[1] Ὄν ἔστι, μὴ ὂν οὐκ ἔστι·

The famous dualism of Parmenides was Being and Seeming; the former, invariable, immutable, real, One; the latter, changing, developing, unreal, Many. The above formula, as its starting point, however, cannot have failed to impress itself on Bacon's philosophic mind, though he used it in a slightly different sense. One of his tracts, now lost, was entitled 'Existence or Non-existence.'

PERSIUS

VIOLETS SPRINGING FROM GRAVES

Shake-speare :

"Lay her i' the earth,
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring."

Hamlet, v. 1.

Persius :

"Now from those Manes of his, now from his tomb and favored ashes, may not violets spring?"[1]

TO-MORROW

Shake-speare :

"To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time;
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death."

Macbeth, v. 5.

Persius :

"It shall be done to-morrow."

"To-morrow the case will be the same."

"What, do you grant me one day at so great a matter?"

"But when that other day has dawned, we have already spent yesterday's to-morrow."

"For see, another to-morrow wears away our years, and will be always a little beyond you."[2]

The first English version of the Satires of Persius was printed in 1616,[3] several years after 'Hamlet' and 'Macbeth' were produced.

---

[1] *Nunc non e manibus illis,*
Nunc non e tumulo fortunataque favilla,
Nascentur violæ?

Satyra 1.

[2] *Cras hoc fiet. Idem cras fiet. Quid? quasi magnum,*
Nempe diem, donas? sed cum lux altera venit,
Jam cras hesternum consumpsimus. Ecce aliud cras
Egerit hos annos, et semper paulum erit ultra.

Satyra v.

[3] This was the second edition; date of first edition unknown.

PLATO

THE HUMAN EYE

Shake-speare:

"The eye sees not itself,
But by reflection, — by some other thing.
. . . . . .
Since you know you cannot see yourself,
So well as by reflection, I, your glass,
Will modestly discover to yourself
That of yourself which yet you know not of."

Julius Cæsar, i. 2.

Plato:

"You may take the analogy of the eye; the eye sees not itself, but from some other thing, as, for instance, from a glass; it can also see itself by reflection in another eye."[1]

THREE CLASSES IN SOCIETY

Shake-speare:

"For government, though high and low and lower,
Put into parts, doth keep in one consent,
Congreeing in a full and natural close,
Like music." *Henry V.*, i. 2.

Plato.

"It is not alone wisdom and strength which make a state wise and strong, but Order (like that harmony called the diapason) is diffused throughout, making the weakest, the strongest and the class between consent in one melody. Thus the harmonic power of political justice is the same as that musical consent which connects the three chords, the octave, the bass, and the fifth."[2]

LOVE AND NOBILITY

Shake-speare:

"They say base men, being in love, have a nobility in their natures more than is native to them." — *Othello*, ii. 1.

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[1] Ἐννενόηκας οὖν, ὅτι τοῦ ἐμβλέποντος εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμφαίνεται ἐν τῇ τοῦ καταντικρὺ ὄψει ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ·

[2] ἀλλὰ δι' ὅλης ἀτεχνῶς τέταται, διὰ πασῶν παρεχομένη ξυνῳδοντας τούς τε ἀσθενεστάτους ταὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς μέσους· . . . ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι τὰ οἰκεῖα εὖ θέμενον, καὶ ἄρξαντα αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κοσμήσαντα, καὶ φίλον γενόμενον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ξυναρμόσαντα τρία ὄντα, ὥσπερ ὅρους τρεῖς ἁρμονίας ἀτεχνῶς, νεάτης τε καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ μέσης, καὶ εἰ ἄλλα ἄττα μεταξὺ τυγχάναι ὄντα, πάντα ταῦτα ξυνδήσαντα, καὶ παντάπασιν ἕνα γενόμενον ἐκ πολλῶν. — ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ, iv.

Plato:

"No man is so great a coward by nature but love will inspire him to valor."[1] — *Symposium.*

The first printed edition of Plato's 'Dialogues' was in Latin; the book bore no date, but was earlier than 1491. It was not until twenty-two years later that the 'Dialogues' appeared in print in their original Greek.

The 'First Alcibiades,' from which the remarkable passage, quoted above, relating to the human eye, is taken, was printed for the first time in English in 1773, or nearly two hundred years after the production of the play of 'Julius Cæsar.'

The still more remarkable passage from Plato that follows, expressing a likeness between the three chords, the octave, the bass, and the fifth, combining to make harmony in music, and the three classes of citizens, the high, the low, and the lower, combining to make harmony in a state, comes from 'The Republic,' not translated into English and printed until the early part of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Charles Knight, the distinguished editor, well says that however Shake-speare may have obtained his knowledge of this striking and recondite simile in Plato, "he used it as one who was not meddling with learning in an ignorant spirit."

"Whatever may have been the date of Shakespeare's first acquaintance with 'The Republic,' the influence of that work [on his writings] is, I think, manifest." — THOMAS TYLER, *The Academy, June* 25, 1898.

PLINY

LION'S MERCY

Shake-speare:

"'T is
The royal disposition of that beast
To prey on nothing that doth seem as dead."
As You Like It, iv. 3.

[1] Οὐδεὶς οὕτω κακὸς, ὅντινα οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἔρως ἔνθεον ποιήσειε πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὥσθ' ὅμοιον εἶναι τῷ ἀρίστῳ φύσει. — ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ.

Pliny:

"The lion, alone of all wild beasts, is gentle to those that humble themselves before him; he will not touch any creature that lieth prostrate."[1] — *Natural History.*

ANAXARCHUS UNDER TORTURE

Shake-speare:

"Ere my tongue
Shall wound mine honor with such feeble wrong,
Or sound so base a parle, my teeth shall tear
The slavish motive of recanting fear,
And spit it bleeding, in his high disgrace,
Where shame doth harbor, even in Mowbray's face."

Richard II., i. 1.

Pliny:

"Anaxarchus, when he was under torture, having bitten off his tongue as the only instrument of confession, spit it into the face of the tyrant."

The play of 'Richard II.' was printed in 1597, long before any English version of Pliny appeared.

PLUTARCH

ANTHONY'S GUARDIAN SPIRIT

Shake-speare:

"*4 Soldier.* Peace! what noise?
1 Soldier. List, list!
2 Soldier. Hark!
1 Soldier. Music i' the air!
3 Soldier. Under the earth!
4 Soldier. It signs well
Does 't not?
3 Soldier. No.
1 Soldier. Peace, I say! What should this mean?
2 Soldier. 'Tis the god Hercules, whom Anthony lov'd,
Now leaves him."

Anthony and Cleopatra, iv. 3.

Plutarch:

"The self-same night, within a little of midnight, when all the city was quiet, full of fear and sorrow, thinking what would be the

[1] *Leoni tantum ex feris clementia in supplices; prostratis parcit.* — CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS, *Historia Naturalis*, viii. 19.

issue and end of this war, it is said that suddenly they heard a marvellous sweet harmony of sundry sorts of instruments of music, with the cry of a multitude of people, as they had been dancing, and had sung as they use in Bacchus' feasts, with movings and turnings after the manner of the Satyres; and it seemed that this dance went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troop that made this noise they heard went out of the city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeit and resemble him that did forsake them." — *Life of Antonius.*

It was a common belief among the ancients that when any irremediable disaster was about to befall a man, the man's guardian spirit or god forsook him. Plutarch tells us that on the eve of Anthony's final defeat and suicide the god who had presided over his personal fortunes ostentatiously forsook him. The name of the god is not given in the narrative, but some of the English translators, Langborne for example, assuming that it must have been Bacchus, because the god's departure from the city was signalized by Bacchanalian revels, have taken the liberty to insert the name of Bacchus in the text, doing so, however, without giving to the reader the slightest intimation that the word was not in the original. But Shake-speare declares that it was Hercules who bore that relation to the hero, and who, at the time and place mentioned by Plutarch, left the city at midnight. That is to say, the dramatist not only supplied an apparent deficiency in the Greek text, but also exhibited more knowledge of the facts of Anthony's life than modern scholars, who have made the subject a special study, have done.

According to tradition Anthony was descended from Anton, the son of Hercules. He was so proud of this imaginary descent that he had a lion struck on a coin, in allusion to the Nemean lion of Hercules. Cleopatra calls him in the play (act iv.) the 'Nemean Roman,' and Anthony

himself, when he discovered, or thought he discovered, Cleopatra's treachery, turns to Hercules for aid:

> "The shirt of Nessus is upon me; teach me,
> Alcides [Hercules], thou mine ancestor, thy rage."
>
> iv. 10.

SOPHOCLES

BURIAL OF AJAX

Shake-speare:

> "The Greeks upon advice did bury Ajax
> That slew himself; and wise Laertes' son [Odysseus]
> Did graciously plead for his funerals."
>
> *Titus Andronicus*, i. 1.

Sophocles:

"*Odysseus.* Then hear me. Steel not thyself, in heaven's name! thus pitilessly to cast out this warrior unburied; nor let thy forceful spirit subdue thee to such deep hate as to trample down justice. To me too was this man once the deadliest foe in all the host, ever since I achieved the winning of Achilles' arms. Yet, though such he was to me, not for all that would I dishonor him as not to avow that I saw in him the one and bravest hero, of all us Greeks who came to Troy, save Achilles. Unjustly, then, would he be dishonored of thee; for not to him wouldst thou do hurt, but to the laws of heaven. Wrongful is it to insult a brave man dead, even if thou hold him in hate.

Agamemnon. Dost thou urge me, then, to permit the burial of this corpse?

Odysseus. I do; for I too shall come unto that need.

Agamemnon. 'T is free to act thy will." — *Ajax.*

RECOGNITION BY SENSE OF TOUCH

Shake-speare:

> "Might I but live to see thee in my touch,
> I'd say I had my eyes again." *King Lear*, iv. 1.

Sophocles:

> "Could I but touch them with my hands,
> I should believe they were with me, as when
> I had my eyes."[1] *Œdipus Tyrannus.*

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[1] Χερσί τᾶν θιγὼν
δοκοῖμ' ἔχειν σφᾶς, ὥσπερ ἡνίκ' ἔβλεπον.
ΟΙΔΙΠΟΥΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ.

GRIEF FOR DEATH OF FRIENDS

Shake-speare:

"*Queen.* Thou know'st 't is common ; all that lives must die."

"*King.* Hamlet. . . .
You must know, your father lost a father ;
That father, lost, lost his ; — to persevere
In obstinate condolement is a course
Of impious stubbornness ; 't is unmanly grief."

Hamlet, i. 2.

Sophocles:

"Electra, think ! thou hadst a mortal sire,
And mortal was thy brother ; grieve not excessively,
For we all must die."[1] *Electra.*

QUICK ACTION AGAINST TRAITORS

Shake-speare:

"We must be brief [quick], when traitors brave the field."

Richard III., iv. 3.

Sophocles:

"When a secret plotter against my life moves quickly, I must also move quickly."[2]

LIFE, A DREAM

Shake-speare:

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made of." *Tempest*, iv. 1.

Sophocles:

"We're nothing else, we who live, but empty pageants and shadowy dreams."[3]

MESSENGER OF EVIL

Shake-speare:

"Though it be honest, it is never good
To bring bad news."

Anthony and Cleopatra, ii. 5.

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[1] Θνητοῦ πέφυκας πατρὸς, Ἠλεκτρα, φρόνει·
θνητὸς δ' Ὀρέστης· ὥστε μὴ λιάν στένε.
πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν.

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ, 1171–73.

[2] Ὅταν ταχύς τις οὐπιβουλεύων λάθρα
χωρῇ, ταχὺν δεῖ κἀμὲ βουλεύειν πάλιν.

ΟΙΔΙΠΟΥΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ, 618–619.

[3] Ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλὴν
εἴδωλ' ὅσοιπερ ζῶμεν ἢ κούφην σκιάν.

ΑΙΑΣ, 125–126.

THE BRINGER OF UNWELCOME NEWS

Sophocles:

"No one likes the messenger of bad news."[1]

Antigone.

PRIVATE QUARRELS IN TIME OF WAR

Shake-speare:

"What, in a town of war,
Yet wild, the people's hearts brimful of fear,
To manage private and domestic quarrel —
'T is monstrous!"

Othello, ii. 3.

Sophocles:

"Unhappy that ye are, why have ye rear'd
Your wordy rancour 'mid the city's harms?
Have you no shame, to stir up private broils
In such a time as this?"[2]

Œdipus Tyrannus.

TO WASH AWAY STAINS

Shake-speare:

"Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand?"

Macbeth, ii. 2.

Sophocles:

"Not the wide Danube's waves,
Nor Phasis' stream can wash away this stain."[3]

Œdipus Tyrannus.

The ancients believed that the water of rivers and of the sea had the power of washing away impurities and pollu-

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[1] *στέργει γαρ οὐδεὶς ἄγγελον κακῶν ἐπῶν.*
ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ, 277.

Also in Æschylus:

ὤμοι, κακὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀγγέλλειν κακά.
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ. 253.

And in Aristotle.

[2] *Τί τὴν ἄβουλον, ὦ ταλαίπωροι, στάσιν*
γλώσσης ἐπήρασθ'; οὐδ' ἐπαισχύνεσθε, γῆς
οὕτω νοσούσης ἴδια κινοῦντες κακά;
ΟΙΔΙΠΟΥΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ, 634–636.

[3] *οἶμαι γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν Ἴστρον οὔτε Φᾶσιν ἂν*
νίψαι καθαρμῷ τήνδε τὴν στέγην.
ΟΙΔΙΠΟΥΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ, 1227, 1228.

tions, mental as well as physical. Lady Macbeth's inquiry implies a knowledge of this superstition, — one that is found also in Seneca, Virgil, and the Hebrew Scriptures.

"Hence came the proverb of doing things with unwashed hands; *i. e.* impudently, without any regard to decency or religion:

'*Falstaff.* Rob me the exchequer the first thing thou do'st, and do it with unwash'd hands, too.' — *1 Henry IV.*, iii. 3 (1598)."

— UPTON'S *Critical Observations on Shakespeare* (1746), p. 48.

SUPPORT OF LIFE

Shake-speare:

"You take my life,
When you do take the means by which I live."
Merchant of Venice, iv. 1.

Sophocles:

"You take my life,
When you take my bow and arrows."[1]
Philoctetes.

The tragedies of Sophocles were printed in a Latin translation in 1502; in their original Greek in 1522; no English version of the 'Ajax' was extant, however, until 1714, or more than one hundred years after 'Titus Andronicus,' and nearly one hundred years after the 'Tempest,' were published. The 'Electra' was also first translated into English in 1714, and the 'Œdipus Tyrannus' in 1715.

"As the author before showed himself acquainted with a circumstance gleaned from Euripedes, we find him here no less conversant with the 'Ajax' of Sophocles, not then translated [into English], in which Ulysses and Teucer strenuously contend for permission to bury the body of Ajax, though he had been declared an enemy to the confederate states of Greece." — LEWIS THEOBALD.

"This alone would sufficiently convince me that the play before

[1] Ἀπεστέρηκας τὸν βίον, τά τόξ' ἑλών.
ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ, 931.

us was the work of one who was conversant with the Greek tragedies in their original language."[1] — GEORGE STEEVENS.

It cannot now be rationally denied that the author of the Shake-speare plays was intimately acquainted with the great Greek tragedies. Mr. James Russell Lowell says of one of them:

"In the 'Electra' of Sophocles, which is almost identical in its leading motive with 'Hamlet,' the Chorus consoles Electra for the supposed death of Orestes in the same commonplace way which Hamlet's uncle tries with him. Shakespeare expatiates somewhat more largely, but the sentiment in both cases is almost verbally identical." — *Among my Books*, i. 191 (1892).

The Rev. J. P. Mahaffy also notices the interesting and significant parallelism between these two dramas, each the high-water mark in the respective civilizations out of which they grew. "Hamlet," he says, "dealing with the very same moral problem, gathers into one the parts of Electra and of Orestes, and represents not only the vengeance of the murdered king's son, but [also] the long mental doubts and conflicts of the avenger, living in the palace and within sight of his adulterous mother and her paramour. Shakespeare has made the queen-mother a weaker and far less guilty character, and therefore has consistently recoiled from the dreadful crisis of matricide. With him the uncertainty of evidence in Hamlet takes the place of the uncertainty of hope in Electra, whether her brother would indeed return. Instead of the

[1] It will be seen that Steevens' inference, drawn from the above example, in favor of the dramatist's knowledge of Greek, is unwarranted. This, indeed, is quite explicable; for, though Bacon is constantly quoting from Greek authors in his prose works, he almost uniformly does so through Latin translations. In view of the above passages, however, not only from the 'Ajax,' but also from the 'Œdipus' and the 'Electra,' it cannot be rationally denied that Sophocles was one of Shake-speare's favorite authors. And it may well have been so, for the writings of Sophocles mark the highest point in the civilization of ancient Greece. Sophocles and Shake-speare are the two great lights of the world's literature.

oracles that urge Orestes and the ever-present tomb of Agamemnon, he employs the apparition of the king in person." —*History of Classical Greek Literature*, i. (Part 2), 46 (1891).

III. MYTHOLOGY

In 1609 Bacon published a book in Latin on what he called the 'Wisdom of the Ancients.' It was an attempt to analyze and explain on rational principles some of the most prominent Grecian and Roman myths. In the light of the scientific researches of our own time, made by Prof. Max Müller and others, these fanciful speculations are of no value, but they demonstrate one thing beyond question, viz., that the author possessed an unusually extensive and accurate knowledge of mythological and legendary lore. The subject seems to have had a special fascination for him. To show, however, that Shake-speare was equally familiar with these classical myths and legends, we now present in parallel columns for easy comparison the names of the characters around which these myths cluster, as found in Bacon's prose works and in the Plays:

From Shake-speare	*From Bacon*
Absyrtus	
	Achelous
Achilles	Achilles
	Acratus
Actæon	Actæon
Adonis	Adonis
Æacida	
Æacides	
Æneas	Æneas
Æolus	Æolus
Æson	
Æsop	Æsop
Agamemnon	Agamemnon
Agenor	
Ajax	
Alcides	

From Shake-speare	*From Bacon*
Althæa	
Amainon	
	Amalthea
Amazons	Amazons
Ancus	
Andromache	
	Antæus
	Anubis
Antenor	
Antiopa	
Apollo	Apollo
Argus	Argus
Ariadne	Ariadne
Arion	Arion
Ascanius	
Astræa	
Atalanta	Atalanta
Ate	
Atlas	Atlas
Atropos	
	Angeas
Aurora	Aurora
Bacchanals	
Bacchus	Bacchus
	Bellerophon
Bellona	
Boreas	Boreas
Briareus	Briareus
Cadmus	
Calchus	
Cassandra	Cassandra
	Castor
Centaus	
Cephalus	
Cerberus	
Ceres	Ceres
Charon	Charon
	Chimera
Chiron	Chiron
Circe	Circe
	Cobali

From Shake-speare	*From Bacon*
	Cœlum
Cophetua	
Corydon	
Cupid	Cupid
Cyclops	Cyclops
Cynthia	Cynthia
Cytherea	
Dædalus	Dædalus
Daphne	
Dardanian	
	Deianira
Deiphobus	
Deucalion	Deucalion
Diana	Diana
Dido	
Diomedes	Diomedes
Dion	
	Dionysus
Dis	Dis
Echo	Echo
Endymion	Endymion
	Epimethus
Enceladus	Enceladus
Erebus	
	Eros
Europa	
Fama	Fama
Fates	Fates
Fortuna	Fortuna
Ganymede	
Gorgons	Gorgons
	Grææ
Harpies	
	Hebe
Hector	
Hecuba	Hecuba
Helen	Helen
Helenus	
	Heracles
Hercules	Hercules
Hermes	Hermes

From Shake-speare	*From Bacon*
Hero	
Hesperus	
	Hippomenes
Hostilius	
	Hybris
Hydra	Hydra
	Hylas
Hymen	
Hyperion	
	Iambe
Icarus	Icarus
Io	
Iris	
	Ithacus
Janus	Janus
Jason	
Juno	Juno
Jupiter	Jupiter
Laertes	
Leander	
Leda	
Lucretia	Lucretia
Margarelon	
Mars	Mars
Medea	Medea
	Medusa
	Memnon
Menelaus	
Mercury	Mercury
	Metis
	Mezentius
Midas	Midas
Minerva	Minerva
Minos	Minos
Minotaur	
	Momus
	Mopsus
Myrmidons	
Naiads	
Narcissus	Narcissus
Nemesis	Nemesis
Neoptolemus	

From Shake-speare	*From Bacon*
Neptune	Neptune
Nereides	
Nessus	
Nestor	
Niobe	
Numa	
Nymphs	Nymphs
	Œdipus
	Orcus
Orpheus	Orpheus
Pallas	Pallas
	Pan
	Pandora
Pandarus	
Pandion	
Parca	Parca
Paris	Paris
Pegasus	Pegasus
	Pelias
Penelope	Penelope
Penthesilea	
	Pentheus
Perigenia	
Perseus	Perseus
Phaëthon	Phaëthon
Philemon	
Philomela	
Phœbe	
Phœbus	Phœbus
Phœnix	
	Pirithous
Pluto	Pluto
Plutus	Plutus
	Pollux
	Polyphemus
Polyxena	
Polyxenes	
Priam	
Priapus	
Procis	
Progne	
Prometheus	Prometheus

From Shake-speare	*From Bacon*
Proserpine	Proserpine
Proteus	Proteus
Publicola	
Pygmalion	Pygmalion
Pyramus	
	Pyrrha
Pyrrhus	
	Romulus
Saturn	Saturn
Satyr	Satyr
Scylla	Scylla
	Semele
Sibyl	Sibyl
	Silenus
Sinon	
Siren	Siren
Sphinx	Sphinx
	Syringa
Tantalus	
Tarquin	
	Tatius
Telamon	
Tellus	
Tereus	
Thersites	
Theseus	Theseus
Thetis	
Thisbe	
	Terpsichore
Titan	Titan
Titania	
	Tithonus
	Trismegistus
Troilus	
Typhon	Typhon
Ulysses	Ulysses
Venus	Venus
Virginius	
Vulcan	Vulcan

Whole number in Shake-speare	174
Whole number in Bacon's prose works	132
Number in common	85

In Shake-speare the number of allusions to these myths, in plays written in the decade 1580–90, average seventeen to a play; in the second decade, 1590–1600, the average is twelve; in the third (1600–1610), excluding 'Troilus and Cressida,' which deals wholly with legendary characters, it is six only. In the dramas that were produced on the stage in London in 1585–87, coincidently with Shakspere's arrival there from Stratford, an "uneducated peasant," the average is highest of all, viz., twenty. In 'Titus Andronicus,' a still earlier play, the number is forty-two.

This state of things alone justifies Gervinus' assertion that "[the early] plays exhibit the poet not far removed from school and its pursuits; in none of his later dramas does he plunge so deeply into the remembrances of antiquity, his head overflowing with the images, legends, and characters of ancient history."[1]

We close this chapter on the classical knowledge of the dramatist with the following quotation from the Second Part of 'King Henry VI.:'

"*Pene gelidus timor occupat artus.*" iv. 1.

Lines somewhat similar to the above have been discovered in Ovid and Virgil, but none that can be claimed as its original. "And yet somewhere in the wide range of Latin poetry, ancient and modern," says Editor Steevens, "the very words in question may hereafter be detected." This will remind our readers of the dilemma in which scholars found themselves, previously to 1878, over the myth given in the last two of the Shakespearean Sonnets. More than two hundred years, or eight generations, elapsed, after their search began, before a German Dry-as-dust succeeded in tracing it to its Greek cradle.[2]

We distinctly and emphatically claim that the author of the Shake-speare Plays was the best, most profound, most critical classical scholar ever born and bred in England.

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[1] Shakespeare Commentaries, London, 1892, p. 145. [2] See *supra*, p. 193.

Chapter Six

JONSON'S MASQUE, 'TIME VINDICATED'

ON the nineteenth of January, 1623–24, a few weeks after the publication of the first Shake-speare folio, Jonson's masque, 'Time Vindicated,' was produced at court. This is a bold comedy on Fame. Its chief character is Fame herself, surrounded by three minor personages, called Eyes, Nose, and Ears, or collectively THE CURIOUS. The office of the latter, as stated by them, was to "spy," to "hearken," and to "smell out," that is, to gather information on which Fame could issue her decrees.

The masque seems to have had another purpose, viz., to ridicule or hold up to scorn (whenever it should be understood) some person possessing a reputation for authorship which was not his due. The impostor is named *Chronomastix*, and he is said to have "triumphed in print at his admirers' charge."

The Shake-speare folio had recently been printed, so the Colophon informs us, "at the charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, L. Smithweeke and W. Aspley."

At first *Chronomastix* attempts to conciliate Fame, thus:

> "It is for you I revel so in rhyme;
> Dear mistress, not for hope I have, the Time
> Will grow the better by it; to serve Fame
> Is all my end, and get myself a name."

Fame replies:

> "Away, I know thee not, wretched impostor,
> Creature of glory, mountebank of wit,
> Self-loving braggart, Fame doth sound no trumpet

To such vain empty fools; 't is Infamy
Thou serv'st, and follow'st, scorn of all the Muses!
Go revel with thine ignorant admirers;
Let worthy names alone."

But *Chronomastix* will not yield. He protests that he is already the "friend of Rumor," and that he is recognized by the common people as a great author. He says:

"When have I walk'd the streets, but happy he
That had the finger first to point at me,
Prentice or journeyman! The shop doth know it,
The unletter'd clerk, major and minor poet!
The sempster hath sat still as I pass'd by,
And dropp'd her needle! fish-wives stay'd their cry!
The boy with buttons, and the basket-wench,
To vent their wares into my works do trench!
A pudding-wife that would despise the times,
Hath utter'd frequent penn'orths, through my rhymes,
And, with them, dived into the chambermaid,
And she unto her lady hath convey'd
The season'd morsels, who hath sent me pensions,
To cherish and to heighten my inventions.
Well, Fame shall know it yet, I have my faction,
And friends about me, though it please detraction
To do me this affront. Come forth that love me,
And now or never, spight of Fame, approve me."

It appears, however, that THE CURIOUS have discovered two other persons, holding some sort of mysterious relation to *Chronomastix*. These are described as follows:

"*Ears.* A quondam justice, that of late
Hath been discarded out o' the pack of the peace,
For some lewd levity he holds *in capite;*
But constantly loves him. In days of yore,
He us'd to give the charge out of his poems;
He carries him about him in his pocket,
As Philip's son did Homer, in a casket,
And cries '*O happy man!*' to the wrong party,
Meaning the poet, where he meant the subject."

In January, 1623, Francis Bacon was a "quondam justice," having been degraded from the bench in 1621 on charges of bribery.

"*Nose.* Strange arguments of love! There is a schoolmaster
Is turning all his works too, into Latin,
To pure satyric Latin; makes his boys
To learn him; calls him the Times' Juvenal;
Hangs all his school with his sharp sentences;
And o'er the execution place hath painted
Time whipp'd, for terror to the infantry."

Jonson was one of the "good pens," then in the employ of Bacon, turning the 'Advancement of Learning' and other works into Latin. Amongst Jonson's posthumous papers was found in manuscript an English Grammar. This gave him the title of "schoolmaster." Considering the virulent enmity shown by Jonson for twenty years preceding toward the reputed author of the Plays, the sudden "arguments of love," to which reference is made, may well indeed have seemed "strange."

Some secrecy in the printing is hinted at in the following lines:

"One is his printer in disguise, and keeps
His press in a hollow tree, where to conceal him;
He works by glow-worm light, the moon 's too open."

The great German scholar, Ludwig von Tieck, was of opinion that Shakspere is caricatured in this masque.[1]

[1] This is shown by some manuscript annotations on a copy of Gifford's edition of Jonson's Works (1616), formerly owned by Tieck and now in the library of the British Museum. The earliest discovery of the true significance of the masque was made and pointed out to us by an esteemed friend in Boston, Mass., in the summer of 1897. Since then, the anonymous author of 'Shakespeare — Bacon, An Essay' (London: Swan, Sonnershein & Co., 1899) has given it an elaborate exposition to the same effect.

Chapter Seven

BACON'S POETIC GIFTS

IT is extremely difficult, perhaps in the very nature of things impossible, to determine with certainty any man's possession of high poetic powers of mind from the character of his prose writings alone. No one of us, indeed, can deny the existence of a wide chasm between Bacon's prose and Shake-speare's poetry. The two sets of works seem at first sight to differ, not in degree only, but also in kind. They are as unlike as the caterpillar and the butterfly, now walking the earth and then mounting on wings into the air. In like manner the true poetic spirit implies a state of being very different from that in which the mind is ordinarily exercised. The poet is a man "beside himself" — almost a second personality.

Here, then, are two spheres in which every human soul may have a dual being. The seers of our race are those who inhabit both; that is, who look upon life with two angles of vision — Reason and Imagination. Of men eminent at once in both of them, Milton, Goethe, and Poe are conspicuous examples. Milton's 'Areopagitica' is a "cloth of gold," worthy of the author of 'Paradise Lost,' or better still (according to some critics) of 'Paradise Regained.' Goethe's mind worked in poetry and prose with equal power. He could soar into the highest regions of creative thought at one moment, and with trained scientific eyes detect a vertebra in a sheep's skull at another. Poe's lyric genius was the greatest America has given to the world of literature, but it did

not prevent him from giving to it also, in feats of analytical legerdemain, most extraordinary and enduring effects in prose.

The question now arises, was Bacon one of these rare spirits? To determine it as well as we can, let us select a passage from Milton's prose and compare it with one from his poetry, the best in either instance that the genius of the author affords, and then do the same with Bacon. Our readers may thus judge for themselves whether there be any greater difference in mental quality between the two forms of composition in the one case than in the other.[1]

MILTON:

"Books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them, to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve, as in a vial, the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth; and, being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And

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[1] One commentator sets the "dry light of intellect" in Bacon over against the "warm sunshine" of Shake-speare; another declares that the differences between the two minds are radical, the powers of one being analytical and those of the other synthetical.

These two criticisms fairly illustrate the prevailing ignorance of Bacon's intellectual character. As to the first — that Bacon's intellect was not affected by his heart — nothing could possibly be at wider variance with the truth. Even Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, a severe critic, says in his Life of Bacon, that the "leading peculiarity of his style is its sympathetic nature." Mr. Whipple also testifies to the same effect as follows:

"Perhaps the finest sentence in his writings, certainly the one which best indicates the essential feeling of his soul, as he regarded human misery and ignorance, occurs in his description of one of the fathers of Solomon's House. 'His countenance,' he says, 'was as the countenance of one who pities men.'" — *Literature of the Age of Elizabeth*, p. 334.

Robert L. Ellis, one of the editors of Bacon's Works, associated with Mr. Spedding, tells us after a prolonged and dispassionate study of Bacon's writings, that a "deep sense of the misery of mankind is visible throughout all that he wrote. . . . He has often been called a utilitarian, not because he loved truth less than others, but because he loved men more."

For the absurdity of the other criticism, mentioned above, see our Bacon *vs.* Shakspere.

yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature — God's image; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." — *Areopagitica.*

"Thus far these, beyond
Compare of mortal prowess, yet observed
Their dread commander; he, above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower; his form had yet not lost
All her original brightness, nor appear'd
Less than archangel ruin'd, and the excess
Of glory obscur'd; as when the sun, new-ris'n,
Looks through the horizontal misty air,
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd so, yet shone
Above them all the Arch-angel; but his face
Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
Sat on his faded cheek; but under brows
Of dauntless courage and considerate pride,
Waiting revenge."

Paradise Lost, i. 587–604.

BACON:

"Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer revelation of God's favor. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath labored more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground. Judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like

precious odors, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue." — *Essay of Adversity.*

"To be or not to be : that is the question ;
Whether 't is nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them ? To die : to sleep;
No more; and by a sleep to say we end
The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to ; 't is a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd. To die, to sleep;
To sleep : perchance to dream; ay, there 's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause ; there 's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life;
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despis'd love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin ? Who would fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns, puzzles the will,
And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others we know not of ?
Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all ;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action." *Hamlet.*

Here is a nice literary problem. In Milton, we have an eloquent eulogy of good books, and, following this, the grandest, most terrible figure the eye of imagination ever beheld. Boldness, originality, sublimity characterize both.

The image of God shining upon us through the clear light of knowledge, and that of the ruined archangel like the sun seen through a mist, are metaphors so striking and at the same time so similar, that under any circumstances, it would seem, we might have suspected their common origin.

Turning to the couplet from Bacon, what do we find? An intellect of a wholly different type, at once incisive and profound, grasping principles as firmly as Jupiter grasped thunderbolts, and wielding them with a brilliancy that is almost dazzling. The two passages, from the Essay and from 'Hamlet,' illustrate almost precisely the same mental qualities. They are both philosophical. They deal analytically, one with the joys and sorrows of this world, and the other with doubts and misgivings on the perilous edge of the next. There is no spiritual rift, and consequently no "warm sunshine" pouring down through the clouds, in either.

Now let us apply the same process to another phase of genius in these two authors. It is often said that Bacon could not have written the Shakespearean dramas because, in paraphrasing the Psalms of David, he converted them into doggerel. But Milton also paraphrased the Psalms of David into English verse, and in doggerel as bad as Bacon's. Let us compare them also:

MILTON:

"God is a just judge and severe,
  And God is every day offended;
If the unjust will not forbear,
  His sword he whets, His bow hath bended
Already, and for him intended
  The tools of death, that waits him near.

"(His arrows purposely made he
  For them that persecute). Behold
He travails big with vanity;
  Trouble he hath conceived of old,
  As in a womb; and from that mould
Hath at length brought forth a lie."

BACON:

"Teach us, O Lord, to number well our days,
Thereby our hearts to wisdom to apply;
For that which guides man best in all his ways
Is meditation of mortality.
This bubble light, this vapor of our breath,
Teach us to consecrate to hour of death.

"Return unto us, Lord, and balance now,
With days of joy, our days of misery;
Help us right soon, our knees to thee to bow,
Depending wholly on thy clemency.
Then shall thy servants, both with heart and voice,
All the days of their life in thee rejoice."

We think our readers must either reject Milton's authorship of 'Paradise Lost,' or admit that, so far as this doggerel is concerned, Bacon could have written 'Hamlet.'

To the list of testimonies, given by scholars and critics of high standing to Bacon's poetic powers, presented elsewhere,[1] we add the following:

"All his works, his essays, his philosophical writings, commonly so called, and what he has done in history, are of one and the same character, reflective, and, so to speak, *poetical.* What then is his glory? In what did his greatness consist? In this, we should say: — that an intellect, at once one of the most capacious and one of the most profound ever granted to mortal, was in him united and reconciled with an almost equal endowment of the imaginative faculty." — GEORGE L. CRAIK.

"Bacon, like Sidney, was a warbler of poetic prose. No English writer has surpassed him in fervor and brilliancy of style, in force of expression, or in richness and significancy of imagery." — CHAMBERS' *Cyclopædia of English Literature.*

"The poetic faculty was powerful in Bacon's mind." — MACAULAY.

"No one who reads the Essays with care can fail to see that he was gifted with a wonderful reproductive imagination. The house

[1] Bacon *vs.* Shakspere, Chapter III.

he builds is a real house; we could make a plan of his gardens. Even abstractions, like envy, ambition, vain glory, deformity, are animated by his touch, and move before us like living characters." — STORR *and* GIBSON'S *Introduction to Bacon's Essays*, p. lxxxi.

"Rarement il résiste à l'envie d'être poète." — DE MAISTRE.

"De Maistre makes what appears to me to be a very true criticism on Bacon, 'rarement il résiste à l'envie d'être poète.' There is a certain amount of truth, too, in the disparaging criticism which follows: 'L'image se présente avant tout à son esprit, et le contente.'" — PRESIDENT THOMAS FOWLER, *Oxford.*

"Bacon is almost Shakespeare in philosophic garb, so resplendent is his imagination and so versatile his genius." — *Edinburgh Review*, 1854.

"It has been well said that Bacon's essays seem like scraps escaped from Shakespeare's desk." — HENRY J. RUGGLES.

"Another virtue of the book [Bacon's Essays] is one which is not frequently found in union with the scientific or philosophical intellect; viz., a poetical imagination. Bacon's similes, for their aptness and their vividness, are of the kind of which Shakspeare, or Goethe, or Richter might have been proud." — JOHN STUART BLACKIE.

"To this Bacon would bring something of that high poetical spirit which gleams out at every page of his philosophy." — CHARLES KNIGHT.

"Reason in him works like an instinct; the chain of thought reaches to the highest heaven of invention."[1] — WILLIAM HAZLITT.

"What he conceives as a poet he utters as a prophet." — WEST'S *Preface to Bacon's Essays.*

"We have only to open 'The Advancement of Learning' to see how the Attic bees clustered above the cradle of the new philosophy. Poetry pervaded the thoughts, it inspired the similes, it hymned in the majestic sentences of the wisest of mankind." — E. BULWER LYTTON.

[1] By *invention* is meant the creative faculty or power of imagination.

"The truth is that Bacon was not without the fine frenzy of the poet. . . . Had his genius taken the ordinary direction, I have little doubt that it would have carried him to a place among the great poets." — JAMES SPEDDING.

"Lord Bacon was a poet." — PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY.

Chapter Eight

ORIGIN OF THE PSEUDONYM, SHAKE-SPEARE

PALLAS ATHENE was the national divinity of the Greeks. She was the goddess of wisdom, poetry, and the fine arts. Her statue stood on the Acropolis, wearing a helmet on which were figured the heads of two goats. On her breast was the celebrated ægis, made of goatskins. The goat was sacred to the drama, the word "goat" in Greek being *τράγος*, which, combined with *ᾄδειν* (to sing), forms *τράγ-ῳδία*, tragedy, or literally, goat-song. The name of Pallas was derived from *πάλλειν*, to shake, evidently in reference to the spear which she held in her right hand, and which was seventy feet in length. She was thus the Spear-shaker, or Shake-spear, of the Greek drama.[1]

The use of such a pseudonym was quite in Bacon's manner. He thought at one time of publishing his great work on the "Interpretation of Nature" under a fictitious name. Indeed, he prepared to divide it into two parts, with a special pseudonym for each; one part in which he should appear as author, and the other in which he should appear as editor. His choice of names for these parts is significant; it shows that he gave no little attention to matters of this kind, and that he was fond of using classic models for his purpose. As author, in this instance, he selected the name of Valerius Terminus, evidently intending thereby to intimate that the

[1] See *supra*, pp. 142, 143.

work in question was destined (as Mr. Spedding expresses it) "to put an end to the wandering of mankind in search of truth." As editor or annotator, he chose the name of Hermes Stella; Hermes being in Greek mythology the interpreter of the gods, and Stella signifying that the full meaning of the text could not at once be disclosed, but would be seen, as it were, by starlight.

To a mind fond of emblematical nomenclature the pseudonym under which the Plays were written, suggesting, as it does, not only the genius of the Grecian civilization, but tragedy itself, would be at once natural and impressive.

We may possibly find a confirmation of this interesting hypothesis in the caption, given by Jonson in his 'Discoveries,' to the famous paragraph on the author of the Plays:

De Shakspeare Nostrat.

(*Concerning our country's Shakspeare*),

that is to say, as contradistinguished from some other of like generic or impersonal character elsewhere.

Furthermore, we may now explain, what has hitherto been unexplainable, the existence of a hyphen between the two syllables, *Shake* and *Speare*, as printed on many of the quartos and in the Folio of 1623.

Appendices

Appendix A

LECTORI S. ISAACUS GRUTERUS

Quæ tibi damus Amice Lector, ad Universalem et Naturalem Philosophiam spectantia, ex Manuscriptis Codicibus, quos accurate recensuerat et varie emendarat author, me amanuense apographa sunt. Sola Bodlei epistola, quæ ad examen vocat 'Cogitata et Visa,' per me ex Anglico facta Latina est, atque ex opere epistolarum Baconi, quæ tali idiomate circumferuntur, huc translata ob materiæ cognationem. Titulus quem frons libri præfert et totum complectitur opusculi in varias dissertationes secti argumentum, ab ipso Verulamio est; quem singulæ exhibent paginæ ex rerum tractatarum serie distinctum, a me, ut minus confunderet quærentem Lectorem indiculi defectus. Quicquid sequitur, ab eo loco cujus inscriptio est in ipso contextu 'Indicia vera de interpretatione naturæ' usque ad finem, donavi eo nomine 'Impetus Philosophici,' quod ex familiaribus Viri magni colloquiis notassem, cum de istis chartis mecum ageret. Non aliter enim appellare solebat quicquid prioribus per titulos suos separatis connecteretur; ne quis imperfectum statim suspicetur quod defervescente Impetu non videt trahere syrma prolixæ tractationis. *Omnia autem hæc inedita (nisi quod in editis paucissimis rara exstent quarundam ex his meditationum vestigia) debes, Amice Lector, Nobilissimo Guil. Boswello, ad quem ex ipsius Baconi legato pervenerant, cum aliis in politico et morali genere elaboratis, quæ nunc ex dono τοῦ μακαρίτου penes me servantur non diu premenda.* Boswello, inquam, viro nobilitate, prudentia insigni, varia eruditione, humanitate summa, et Oratori olim apud Batavos Anglo; cujus sancta mihi memoria est. Vale et conatibus nostris fave, qui mox plura daturi sumus Baconiana latine versa, maximam partem inedita; et *συλλόγην* adornamus epistolarum quas vir eminentissimus Hugo Grotius scripsit ad Belgas, Germanos, Italos, Suecos, Danos, Gallis exceptis, quas Clarissimus Sarravius Senator Parisiensis edidit. Rogantur itaque in quorum manus hæc inciderint, ut, si quid ejus notæ habent, aut sciunt unde haberi queat, ad typographum transmittant, et significent, cæteris jam collectis aggregandum.

Appendix B

Sequitur aliud Methodi discrimen, priori intentione affine, re ipsa fere contrarium. Hoc enim habet utraque Methodus commune, ut vulgus auditorum a selectis separet; illud oppositum, quod prior introducit modum tradendi solito apertiorem; altera, de qua jam dicemus, occultiorem. Sit igitur discrimen tale, ut altera Methodus sit Exoterica altera Acroamatica. Etenim quam antiqui adhibuerunt præcipue in edendis libris differentiam, eam nos transferemus ad ipsum modum tradendi. Quinetiam Acroamatica ipsa apud veteres in usu fuit, atque prudenter et cum judicio adhibita. At Acroamaticum sive Ænigmaticum istud dicendi genus posterioribus temporibus dehonestatum est a plurimis, qui eo tanquam lumine ambiguo et fallaci abusi sunt ad merces suas adulterinas extrudendas. Intentio autem ejus ea esse videtur, ut traditionis involucris vulgus (profanum scilicet) a secretis scientiarum summoveatur; atque illi tantum admittantur, qui aut per manus magistrorum parabolarum interpretationem nacti sunt, aut proprio ingenii acumine et subtilitate intra velum penetrare possint.—*De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Liber VI.

Appendix C

Ita sim (fili) itaque humani in universum imperii angustias nunquam satis deploratas ad datos fines proferam (quod mihi ex humanis solum in votis est), ut tibi optima fide, atque ex altissima mentis meæ providentia, et exploratissimo rerum et animorum statu, hæc traditurus sim [sum] modo omnium maxime legitimo. "Quis tandem (inquies) est modus ille legitimus? Quin tu mitte artes et ambages, rem exhibe nudam nobis, ut judicio nostro uti possimus." Atque utinam (fili suavissime) eo loco sint res vestræ, ut hoc fieri posset. An tu censes, cum omnes omnium mentium aditus ac meatus obscurissimis idolis, iisque alte hærentibus et inustis, obscessi et obstructi sint, veris rerum et nativis radiis sinceras et politas areas adesse? Nova est ineunda ratio, qua mentibus obductissimis illabi possimus. Ut enim phreneticorum deliramenta arte et ingenio subvertuntur, vi et contentione efferantur, omnino ita in hac universali insania mos gerendus est. . . . Ut modus innocens sit, di est, nulli prorsus errori ansam et occasionem præbeat? ut vim quandam insitam et innatam habeat tum ad fidem conciliandam, tum ad pellendas injurias temporis, adeo ut scientia ita tradita veluti planta

vivax et vegeta quotidie serpat et adolescat? ut idoneum et legitimum sibi lectorem seponat, et quasi adoptet? Atque hæc omnia præstiterim necne, ad tempus futurum provoco. — *Temporis Partus Masculus*, II.

Appendix D

Cogitavit et illud; rem quam agit, non opinionem, sed opus esse; eamque non sectæ alicujus aut placiti, sed utilitatis et amplitudinis immensæ fundamenta jacere. Itaque de re non modo perficienda, sed et communicanda et tradenda (qua par est cura) cogitationem suspiciendam esse. Reperit autem homines in rerum scientia quam sibi videntur adepti, interdum proferenda, interdum occultanda, famæ et ostentationi servire: quin et eos potissimum qui minus solida proponunt, solere ea quæ afferunt obscura et ambigua luce venditare, ut facilius vanitati suæ velificare possint. Putare autem, se id tractare quod ambitione aliqua aut affectatione polluere minime dignum sit: sed tamen necessario eo decurrendum esse (nisi forte rerum et animorum valde imperitus esset, et non explorato viam inire vellet) ut satis meminerit, inveteratos semper errores, tanquam phreneticorum deliramenta, arte et ingenio subverti, vi et contentione efferari. Itaque prudentia ac morigeratione quadam utendum (quanta cum simplicitate et candore conjungi potest), ut contradictiones ante extinguantur quam excitentur. Ad hunc finem parare se de naturæ interpretatione atque de natura ipsa opus, quod errores minima asperitate destruere, et ad hominum sensus non turbide accedere possit; quod et facilius fore, quod se non pro duce gesturus, sed ex natura ipsa lucem præbiturus et sparsurus sit, ut duce postea non sit opus. Sed cum tempus interea fugiat, et ipse rebus civilibus plus quam vellet immistus esset, id longum videri: præcertim cum incerta vitæ cogitaret, et aliquid in tuto collocare festinaret. Venit ei itaque in mentem, posse aliquid simplicius proponi, quod in vulgus non editum, saltem tamen ad rei tam salutaris abortum arcendum satis esse possit. Atque diu et acriter rem cogitanti et perpendenti, ante omnia visum est ei, Tabulas Inveniendi, sive legitimæ Inquisitionis formulas in aliquibus subjectis, proponi tanquam ad exemplum, et operis descriptionem fere visibilem. Neque enim aliud quicquam reperiri, quod aut vera viæ aut errorum devia in clariore luce ponere, aut ea quæ afferuntur nihil minus quam verba esse evidentius demonstrare possit: neque etiam quod magis fugiendum esset ab homine qui aut rei diffideret aut eam in magis accipi aut celebrari cuperet. *Tabulis autem propositis et visis, non ambigere quin timidiora ingenia subitura sit quædam hæsitatio et fere desperatio de similibus Tabulis in aliis materiis sive subjectis conficiendis; atque ita sibi*

in exemplo gratulaturos ut etiam præcepta desiderent.[1] *Plurimorum autem studia ad usum Tabularum supremum et ultimum, et clavem ipsam interpretationis poscendam arrecta fore: ac multo ardentius ad novam faciem naturæ saltem aliqua ex parte visendam, quæ per hujusmodi clavem resignata sit et in conspectum data. Verum sibi in animo esse, nec proprio nec aliorum desiderio servienti, sed rei conceptæ consulenti, Tabulis cum aliquibus communicatis, reliqua cohibere, donec tractatus qui ad populum pertinet edatur.* Et tamen animo providere, ingenia firmiora et sublimiora, etiam absque majoribus auxiliis, ab oblatis monitos, reliqua ex se et speraturos et potituros esse. Fere enim se in ea esse opinione nempe (quod quispiam dixit) prudentibus hæc satis fore, imprudentibus autem ne plura quidem. *Se nihilominus de cogitatis nil intermissurum. Quod autem ad tabulas ipsas attinet,* visum est nimis abruptum esse ut ab ipsis docendi initium sumatur. Itaque idonea quædam præfari oportuisse; quod et jam se fecisse arbitratur, nec universa quæ hucusque dicta sunt alio tendere. *Hoc insuper velle homines non latere, nullis inveniendi formulis (more nunc apud homines et artes recepto) necessitatem imponere; sed certe omnibus pertentatis, ex multo usu et nonnullo ut putat judicio, eam quam probavit et exhibuit inquirendi formulam verissimam atque utilissimam esse. Nec tamen se officere quominus ii qui otio magis abundant, aut a difficultatibus quas primo experientem sequi necesse est liberi jam erunt, aut majoris etiam et altioris sunt ingenii, rem in potius perducant; nam et ipsum statuere, artem inveniendi proculdubio cum inventis adolescere.* Ad extremum autem visum est ei, si quid in his quæ dicta sunt aut dicentur boni inveniatur, id tanquam adipem sacrificii Deo dicari, et hominibus, ad Dei similitudinem, sano affectu et charitate hominum bonum procurantibus. — *Cogitata et Visa.*

Appendix E

Etiam dubitabit quispiam, potius quam objiciet, utrum nos de Naturali tantum Philosophia, an etiam de scientiis reliquis, Logicis, Ethicis, Politicis, secundum viam nostram perficiendis loquamur. At nos certe de universis hæc quæ dicta sunt intelligimus; . . . Tam enim historiam et tabulas inveniendi conficimus de Ira, Metu, et Verecundia, et similibus; ac etiam de exemplis rerum Civilium; nec minus de motibus mentalibus Memoriæ, Compositionis et Divisionis, Judicii, et reliquorum; quam de Calido et Frigido, aut Luce, aut Vegetatione, aut similibus.

[1] Cicero and Cæsar both use the verb *desiderare* to express simple loss. The strong adversative with which the following sentence begins plainly shows that such is its meaning here.

Appendix F

Horum primum est, ut exempla proponantur inquirendi et inveniendi secundum nostram rationem ac viam, in aliquibus subjectis repræsentata; sumendo ea potissimum subjecta quæ et ea quæ quæruntur sunt nobilissima et inter se maxime diversa; ut in unoquoque genere exemplum non desit. Neque de iis exemplis loquimur quæ singulis præceptis ac regulis illustrandi gratia adjiciuntur (hoc enim in secunda parte operis abunde præstitimus); sed plane typos intelligimus et plasmata, quæ universum mentis processum atque inveniendi continuatam fabricam et ordinem, in certis subjectis, iisque variis et insignibus, tanquam sub oculos ponant. Etenim nobis in mentem venit, in mathematicis, astante machina, sequi demonstrationem facilem et perspicuam; contra absque hac commoditate, omnia videri involuta et quam revera sunt subtiliora. Itaque hujusmodi exemplis quartam partem nostri operis attribuimus; quæ revera nil aliud est, quam secundæ partis applicatio particularis et explicata.

Appendix G

Neque tamen more apud homines recepto, omnibus hujus formulæ partibus necessitatem quandam attribuimus, tanquam unicæ essent et inviolabiles. Neque enim hominum industriam et felicitatem veluti ad columnam alligandas existimamus. Atque nihil officit, quo minus ii qui otio magis abundant, aut a difficultatibus quas primo experientem sequi necesse est liberi jam erunt, rem monstratam in potius perducant. Quin contra, artem veram adolescere statuimus.

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